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## Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

### *SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH—POLICY OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.*

WE are not aware that, in any of his recent speeches, President Johnson has made any direct allusion to the question of bestwowing the elective franchise on the negro population of the South; but the views he has more than once expressed on kindred and collateral questions enable us to see what his policy will naturally be on this. When the logical effect of his declarations is to undermine the position of the negro suffrage party and take away the ground on which they stand, it may fairly be inferred that he will not give in to their wishes.

In the first place, the new President has, with the utmost distinctness and great force of statement, repudiated the State suicide crotchet so generally adopted by the negro suffrage party. If, as this party, with Mr. Sumner at their head, contend, the seceded States have committed a *felo de se*; if they are no longer States but mere territorial dependencies, then it follows that Congress has plenary control over all their domestic affairs, including full authority to regulate the right of suffrage. But if, as President Johnson maintains, the Statehood of the States is permanent and indestructible, that question is not within the jurisdiction of Congress, inasmuch as the Constitution leaves the qualifications of voters in the States to be determined by the States themselves.

The several Ordinances of Secession being, as President Johnson holds, totally and in all respects null and void, no changes, or pretended changes, under them can repeal or abrogate any pre-existing State regulation respecting that right which, in a free government, lies at the foundation of all others, the right of suffrage. It remains precisely as stated and prescribed by the people of the State in the last authentic expression of their will while they were yet loyal, subject to such limitations as result from provisional military occupancy and the necessary precautions against disloyalty. The basis of suffrage cannot be *enlarged* because no military necessity can require it; it may, however, properly be narrowed by the exclusion of disloyal persons; because until a new State government becomes self-supporting in loyal hands, the military occupation of the State cannot be safely discontinued. The Federal government can confer no right of suffrage in a State, but it can punish treason anywhere; and if it may render traitors harmless by death or imprisonment, it may, in its discretion, practice milder methods of restraint. If any particular traitor is deemed too unsafe to live, he may be tried and executed; if other traitors are deemed unsafe to be at large, they may be imprisoned; either of these cases obviously includes a loss of the right of suffrage. If, in still other cases, a lesser restraint on the liberty of a disloyal citizen, such as excluding him from the polls, is all that the public safety demands, this lesser restraint may also be practiced. It would be absurd to contend that because the Federal government has power to punish treason, and that an incidental consequence of such punishment is a loss of the elective franchise, the Federal government may therefore prescribe the qualifications of voters. The Federal government cannot give life; that is the prerogative of God; but it may take it away. No more can it confer the right of suffrage; that is the prerogative of the States; but it may take it away in virtue of its power to inflict punishment and to take precautions for its own safety.

Another and perhaps clearer indication of President Johnson's probable policy on the negro suffrage question is afforded by his strenuous and repeated declarations that traitors and disloyalists shall have no part in the reorganization of the Southern State governments. Now the only practical argument in favor of negro suffrage as an accompaniment of reconstruction is founded on an alleged necessity lor counterbalancing the disloyal proclivities of the Southern whites. But if no white citizen with the taint of disloyalty resting upon him is permitted to approach the polls, the alleged danger becomes chimerical; and negro suffrage as a *Federal* measure falls to the ground for the want of any reason to support it.

Mr. Johnson has declared, with great emphasis, that whether the loyal citizens in any revolted State be few or many, they alone shall be permitted to have any participation in its government. Negro votes, therefore, as a counterpoise to disloyal white votes, can in no case be necessary. It is safe to conclude then, that President Johnson will cast the negro suffrage crotchet, *as a Federal measure*, into the same limbo with its twin sister, the State suicide crotchet.

If, after order and stability are restored in the South, the Southern people shall see fit to admit the freedmen to a participation in the elective franchise, it may be wise and politic for them to do so. But this is a matter of which they are the exclusive judges. As a question of State policy it is one of the very first magnitude. We are of opinion that the next generation of negroes will either have the suffrage or perturb the State. If the negro population of the South were as small in proportion as that of the Northern States, the question might be decided either way without peril to the public tranquillity. In different Northern States it has been decided variously, and there is nothing on the face of society to show that one mode of deciding it is not just as good as another. In some of the Northern States we have universal negro suffrage; in others, negro suffrage with a property qualification; in others, no negro suffrage at all. Our negro population is so insignificant that all these methods are equally and perfectly safe. But in some of the Southern States, the negroes approximate in numbers to the whites. We do not believe that, in such States, the colored population, when possessing freedom and the means of education, can be permanently excluded from the elective franchise.

But while it will be for the safety and advantage of both races that the negroes of the next generation shall enjoy political rights, the freedmen of this generation ought to be content with the unexpected gift of liberty. Universal suffrage suits only with universal education; men who cannot read, who have no knowledge of public affairs, and no training which qualifies them to form opinions on public questions, cannot safely be intrusted with the ballot. The extremest advocates of universal suffrage admit this, and consider it as a great absurdity for men to vote who cannot read. John Stuart Mill, for example, who has just been interrogated by the electors of Westminster respecting his opinion various public questions, makes this response on the head of suffrage:

"With regard to reform bills, I should vote at once both for Mr. Baines's bill and for Mr. Locke King's, and for measures going far beyond either of them. *I would open the suffrage to all grown persons, both men and women, who can read, write, and perform a sum in the rule of three, and who have not, within a small number of years, received parish relief.* At the same time, utterly abominating all class ascendency, I would not vote for giving the suffrage in such a manner that any class, even though it be the most numerous, could swamp all other classes taken together. In the first place, I think that all considerable minorities in the country, or in a locality, should be represented in proportion to their numbers. What other adjustments of the electoral system to a universal, or nearly universal, suffrage might prove practically the best adapted to secure to every portion of the community its just share of influence, while preventing any class from acquiring an unjust degree of preponderance either by means of property or of numbers, is a question which may be answered in many different ways, and which will require much sifting and public discussion before the best can be selected. In the meanwhile I should be prepare to support a measure which would give to the laboring classes a clear half of the national representation."

The adult negro population of the South have, at present, no training which qualifies them to form opinions on public questions; and the state of dependence resulting from their combined poverty and ignorance would make them the dupes and tools of others if they were allowed to vote before these disabilities are removed. During the reconstruction cycle—which with good management cannot be very long—the negroes will be unfit to take part in the decision of the great questions involved in the adjustment. But if, when they begin to acquire property and intelligence, steps shall be taken to admit them, cautiously and gradually, to full political equality, the measure will be wise, safe and democratic. But of the time for doing this only those can judge who live among the negroes with opportunities to observe their progress.

The reconstruction experiment started and carried on by President Johnson, when he was Military Governor of Tennessee, is in complete harmony with the principles here expressed. To find the qualifications of voters, he went back to the State laws as they existed previous to secession. He was careful to exclude traitors; but he included nobody whom previous laws did not declare qualified, and accordingly did not include negroes. All of which is in such exact conformity to sound principles, that we should expect a continuance of the same method in his more elevated station, even if he had not so repeatedly referred the country to his antecedents for an indication of his policy.—*N. Y. World, May 3.*

## Selections.

### *THE BLACKS AND THE BALLOT.*

IN his excellent proclamation to the people of North Carolina Gen. Schofield announces that the United States troops will protect them "until a civil government can be established in harmony with the Constitution and laws of the United States." This is a clear statement of the exact situation of the late insurrectionary States. It is desirable, upon every account, that there shall be as little delay as possible in intrusting the local government of the States to their own loyal inhabitants. But it is plain that the immediate authority of the National government cannot safely be relaxed until that proportion of the adult male population of a State which guarantees internal security is empowered to vote. The question of the hour then is, when the government is ready to allow an election for any purpose whatever to be held in any such State, who shall be permitted to vote?

By the Constitution of Virginia R. M. T. Hunter is a legal voter in that State. Would the government of the United States allow him to vote there? Undoubtedly not. The Constitution of South Carolina did, and probably does, allow only those to vote who own ten slaves or ten thousand dollars. Would not the government of the United States now permit other persons to vote there? Undoubtedly. There is no authority at present in Virginia and South Carolina except that of the United States; and they, and no other power, will decide who is to vote in reconstructing those States. The conditions of voting will be prescribed by the United States, and not by the State Constitutions. And if the conditions should be those named in the Constitutions they will be valid, not for that reason, but because the United States so determine.

In the States of which we speak there are three classes: the hopeless rebels, the poorer whites, and the blacks. The first of these classes is the smallest, and it will be always disloyal and dangerous, the Bourbons and Jacobites of American politics. The second and third are very large. Together they form the great majority of the population. By the census of 1860 it appears that, in the eleven late rebel States, the exact numbers, were 5,447,222 whites, and 3,666,110 colored and Indian population. The present proportion is undoubtedly more favorable to the blacks. In two of the States they are a majority of the whole population. In five others they are more than one-third, and in every one of the old slave States they are enough, when united with the loyal whites, to control the State. Upon what good grounds, therefore, can the ballot be refused to the loyal black citizens of the Southern States? They are the sturdy working-class. They have always been unfalteringly true to the government. Had they been otherwise—had they made common cause with the rebels chiefs, as the poorer whites were obliged to do—the triumph of the government would have been indefinitely delayed. They are free men, and the plainest good policy requires that their self-respect be aroused, and their willing industry encouraged, without which no class of citizens is contented or valuable. There is but one way of securing this result. It is to give them the ballot.

That the mass of the population at the South, both white and black, is ignorant, is very true. But so are great masses of the Northern voters. Education is a good thing; but it appears that some of the stanchest patriots in the land cannot read, and that some of the basest traitors are highly educated. Education, although at the expense of their country, did not prevent Lee and his associates from trying to destroy their country. Robert Small, whether he can read or not, is to our thinking a much sounder and safer voter than Robert Toombs. Any black man who has succored a Union soldier escaping from the tortures of rebellious slavery is quite as able to vote wisely as the extremely accomplished Judah Benjamin, or Pierre Soule, or Alexander H. Stephens. or John Slidell, or Wade Hampton, or John Faulkner.

The question is not whether, abstractly, political privilege should depend upon education. It is, whether in States, which we wish to restore to their peculiar action in our national system at the earliest moment, we shall require conditions of our black fellow-countrymen whose fidelity has saved the nation which are not required of the whites in the same States, nor in other States of ignorant foreigners who cannot sperk our language, and who have no especial interest in our institutions. Instruct them, say some, and their political rights will follow. But why is that not equally true of the whites? If ignorance is the difficulty, why intrust the States to ignorant white men? By such a plan a discrimination is made at the outset based upon color. The government says, in effect, that ignorant loyal men who are black are not fit to vote, but ignorant loyal men who are white are fit. The government thus flings its whole weight against the ignorant men who have been true to it, and favors those who have been false. The mischief is incalculable. For by that act it recognizes what is called the inferiority of the blacks, which has been always urged as the reason for enslaving them. After such a precedent, is the class of ignorant white loyalists who have believed, and do still believe, that blacks are made to be slaves, likely to educate or enfranchise them? The whites may not be able to enslave the blacks, but they will in every way despise and degrade them. No disfranchised class has a fair chance. And the very fact that the blacks have been made personally free will make them discontented so long as they are disfranchised. They will presently refuse to be governed by a minority. If they cannot have legal redress they will still try to redress themselves. Is this the way to peace?

The colored race was brought into this country against its will and by our inhumanity and cupidity. It has wonderfully increased until there are now some four millions of them among us. Their blood in every degree is mingled with the blood of the whites. They are men and Americans as much as we. Their ancestors came from Africa, as ours from England, Holland, Germany, or Ireland. They are an essential, integral, inevitable, most valuable and important part of our population. Having been enslaved, their color has been a sign of servility, and they have been made the victims of an inhuman prejudice and the objects of the most cruel partisan contempt. They have not resisted, for resistance was hopeless. They have protested silently by still wearing the form of man, of which we could not deprive them. Their long patience which merely hardened our hearts did not alienate God. Whom we forgot he remembered. Our history darkened. The State right to enslave, which we held ourselves bound to respect, struggled with the human right to be free, which we could not deny. The victims did not raise a hand, but the crisis came. The political and commercial effort to outrage nature and to treat men as brutes and chattels culminated in a civil war which has spent costly lives not to be counted, and wasted the long accumulated profits of our sin. It has steeped us in blood to our lips, and utterly failed; and kneeling among the dead and mangled bodies of our first-born and best beloved, amidst the fire and storm of battle, we have acknowledged that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth.

We have now the power and the opportunity of settling this question of the colored race in this country which has rent us from the beginning, and will heave and harry us until it is put honorably to rest. We have already declared them to be men and citizens. Our government rests upon the broad principle that governments justly exist by the consent of the governed. For that principle the colored men fought with our fathers in the Revolution; and side by side in the fiercest fields of this war they have defended it side by side with our brothers. Within the enemy's lines they have been the guides, the messengers, the friends upon whom we have uniformly relied. To see a black face was to find a true heart. Do we mean to be as faithful and honorable and friendly as they have been? Do we mean to trust them as they have trusted us? Do we mean to give them the chance of securing their own welfare as we have the chance of securing ours? Do we mean to be just? If we do, we shall give them a vote in the reconstruction of the insurrectionary States. If we are unwilling to do it, our victory has come too soon, and we shall pay the penalty of premature success.—*Harper's Weekly, May 20.*

### *NORTH CAROLINA.*

A MOVEMENT FOR ENCOURAGING EMIGRATION AND FREE LABOR.—A PETITION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

NEWBERN, May 10.

FOR the purpose of encouraging emigration to the South, and restoring the lost dignity to labor, which has been the chief obstacle in the way, and for other reasons, the following important petition is being extensively circulated in this State:

*To His Excellency* ANDREW JOHNSON, *President of the United States:*

We, the undersigned, your petitioners, are colored men of the State of North Carolina, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards; and we humbly come to you with our request, and yet in great confidence, because you are occupying a place so recently filled by a man who had proved himself indeed our friend, and it must be that some of his great and good spirit lingers to bless his successor; and then we are assured that you are a man who gives kind attention to all petitions, and never turns a deaf ear to any one because he may be in poor or humble circumstances.

In many respects we are poor, and greatly despised by our fellow-men; but we are rich in the possession of the liberty brought us and our wives and our little ones by your noble predecessor, secured to us by the armies of the United States, and promised to be permanent by that victorious flag which now flies in triumph in every State of the Union.

We accept this great boon of freedom with truly thankful hearts, and shall try by our lives to prove our worthiness.

We always loved the old flag, and we have stood by it, and tried to help those who upheld it, through all this rebellion, and now that it has brought us liberty we love it more than ever; and in all future time we and our sons will be ready to defend it by our blood, and we may be permitted to say that such blood as that shed at Fort Wagner and Port Hudson is not altogether unworthy of such service.

Some of us are soldiers and have had the privilege of fighting for our country in this war. Since we have become freemen, and been permitted the honor of being soldiers, we begin to feel that we are men, and are anxious to show our countrymen that we can and will fit ourselves for the creditable discharge of the duties of citizenship. We want the privilege of voting. It seems to us that men who are willing on the field of danger to carry the muskets of the republic, in the days of peace ought to be permitted to carry its ballots; and certainly we cannot understand the justice of denying the elective franchise to men who have been fighting for the country while it is freely given to men who have just returned from four years' fighting against it. As you were once a citizen of North Carolina, we need not remind you that up to the year 1835 free colored men voted in this State; and never, as we have heard, with any detriment to its interests. What we desire is that, preliminary to elections in the returning States, you would order the enrolment of all loyal men, without regard to color. But the whole question we humbly submit to your better judgment; and we submit it with full belief in your impartial integrity, and in the fond hope that the mantle of our murdered friend and father may have fallen upon your shoulders.

May God bless and ever protect you and our beloved country from all assassins—shall be the constant prayer of your faithful friends and humble petitioners.

### *NEGRO SUFFRAGE.*

MATHEW STEVENSON, of Tennessee, wrote, in 1834, in an address to the people of his State, exposing the wrongs and evils of slavery: "We hold it wise policy in every government to make it the interest of all its subjects to support, defend and perpetuate its civil institutions." No one will doubt the justice of this sentence; and as in this country the people are the government, it must be held to be the people's interests that all should have equal [illegible] the law.

The question whether negroes shall vote is getting very general discussion at this time. Southern Union men are, without exception, so far as we know, in favor of giving to the black man precisely the rights possessed by any other man. We have spoken with a number of persons born and bred in the South, and have found them all of one opinion on this question. So far as anything has been lately published by Southern Union men on the subject, we remember nothing of a contrary tenor. A letter of Gen. Gantt, of Arkansas, dated the 5th inst., is the latest and perhaps the clearest definition of Southern loyal opinion on this question. Gen. Gantt says:

"That the negro is needed at the South, that he is capable of culture and improvement, is certain; and that self-protection will compel the South to protect and improve him, is reasonable to suppose. That all loyal men should accord to him the principle of suffrage and equality before the law, is becoming a wide-spread conviction, and will gain strength the more narrowly it is scrutinized.

* * * * "As to suffrage for the colored free man, *he once had it in the South.* It was taken from him, not because he was unworthy of it, but because his exercise of it rendered the slaves around him discontented, and endangered the slave fabric by his future influence. But now that slavery is destroyed, need men be afraid of the freedmen? What do the people want? The perpetuation of liberty by wholesome laws. What more jealous and watchful sentinels could it have than those who themselves had come up from bondage, or learned of its horrors, with perhaps many exaggerations, from the traditions of their fathers?

"What is the duty of the nation; what the interest of the Southern white man in this connection? The elevation of the black. What stronger incentive could you give him for commendable effort than the protection of equal laws, and the right to suffrage when he prepared himself to exercise it?"

Gen. Gantt says truly that the negro once enjoyed suffrage at the South. In every Southern State, except tory and secession South Carolina, the right of suffrage was originally held and exercised by "all freemen." The Declaration of Rights prefixed to the Constitution of Delaware, and part of that document, declared:

"Every freeman having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest, with an attachment to the community, hath a right of suffrage."

The Constitution of Maryland provided:

"All freemen, above twenty-one years of age, having a freehold of fifty acres of land in the county in which they offer to vote, and residing therein, and all freemen having property in this State above the value of thirty pounds current money, and having resided in the county in which they offer to vote one whole year next preceding the election, shall have a right of suffrage in the election of delegates for such county."

The Virginia Declaration of Rights provided:

"All men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest, with an attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage."

The Constitution of North Carolina contained this provision:

"All freemen of the age of twenty-one years, who have been inhabitants of any one county within the State twelve months immediately preceding the day of any election, and shall have paid public taxes, shall be entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons for the county in which they reside."

The Constitution of Georgia declared that

"The electors of the members of both branches of the General Assembly shall be citizens and inhabitants of this State, and shall have attained to the age of twenty-one years, and have paid tax for the year preceding the election, and shall have resided six months within the county."

So far not a word about distinctions on account of color. "All freemen," "every free man," that is the phrase. But now we come to South Carolina—a State which never had a republican or democratic form of government—whose people never voted for President; where only the few wealthy citizens were held capable of holding office; the Constitution of this aristocratic tory State provided that

—"The qualifications of an elector shall be every free *white* man, and *no other person*," etc.

Colored people voted in Pennsylvania till 1838; in Connecticut they voted till 1817. In New York, originally, white and black stood upon the same ground, the right to vote in both being dependent upon a property qualification. About the year 1826, an amendment of the Constitution abolished this property test as regards the white man, but left it unrepealed as regards the blacks. That is to say, it was a half reform.

Within the memory of men now living, negroes voted regularly in North Carolina and in Tennessee. In the former State it is related that a wealthy slaveowner secured his election to Congress by setting free a considerable number of slaves who went to the polls and voted for him in a body. In Tennessee, a person well known in his day, was first elected to Congress by negro votes. John Petit of Indiana said in his place, in the Senate, in 1854,

"Many of the States have conferred this right [of suffrage] upon Indians; and many, both North and South, have conferred it upon free negroes without property. Old Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, an honored and respectable gentleman, formerly Postmaster-General, and for a long time a member of the other house, told me with his own lips that the first time he was elected to Congress from Tennessee (in 1829), it was by the votes of three negroes; and he told me how. Free negroes in Tennessee were then allowed by the Constitution of the State to vote; and he was an iron manufacturer, and had a large number of free negroes as well as slaves in his employ. I well recollect the number he stated. One hundred and fourty-four free negroes in his employ went to the ballot-box and elected him to Congress the first time he was elected."

In Maryland, colored men voted until 1833. In North Carolina, as we have said, they originally voted. Judge Gaston, in a legal opinion, in 1838, said:

"The very Congress which framed our Constitution (the State Constitution of 1776) was chosen by freeholders. That Constitution extended the elective franchise to every freeman who had arrived at the age of twenty-one, and paid a public tax; and it is a matter of universal notoriety that under it free persons, without regard to color, claimed and exercised the franchise until it was taken from free men of color, a few years since, by our amended Constitution."

The Union men of the South show themselves true conservatives, when they declare in favor of universal suffrage, and refuse to make distinctions on account of color merely. They have the matter in their own hands; for the States declare who are to exercise this right, in each. If they want peace and prosperity, they must look to it that all men shall have equal rights.—*Evening Post.*

### *THE QUESTION OF TO-DAY.*

[JOHN G. WHITTIER writes in the *Villager* (Amesbury, Mass.) his views of the present danger of our country and duty of her loyal people, from which we quote as follows:]

"In spite of all revelations of the utterly barbarous character of slavery and its direful effect upon all connected with it, we were on the very point of trusting to its most criminal defenders the task of reëstablishing the State governments of the South, leaving the real Union men, white as well as black, at the mercy of those who have made hatred a religion and murder a sacrament. The nation needed one more terrible lesson. It has it in the murder of its beloved Chief Magistrate and the attempted assassination of its honored prime minister, the two men of all others prepared to go farthest to smooth the way of defeated rebellion back to allegiance.

"Even now, the lesson of these terrible events seems but half learned. In the public utterances I hear much of punishing and hanging leading traitors, fierce demands for vengeance, and threats of the summary chastisement of domestic sympathizers with treason, but comparatively little is said of the accursed cause, the prolific mother of abominations—slavery. The government is exhorted to remember that it does not bear the sword in vain—the Old Testament is ransacked for texts of Oriental hatred, and examples of the revenges of a semi-barbarous nation—but, as respects the 4,000,000 of unmistakably loyal people of the South, the patient, long-suffering, kind-hearted victims of oppression—only here and there a voice pleads for their endowment with the same rights of citizenship which are to be accorded to the rank and file of disbanded rebels. The Golden Rule of the Sermon on the Mount is not applied to them. Much is said of executing justice upon rebels; little of justice to loyal black men. Hanging a few ringleaders of treason, it seems to be supposed, is all that is needed to restore and reëstablish the revolted States. The negro is to be left powerless in the hands of the 'white trash,' who hate him with a bitter hatred, exceeding that of the large slaveholders.

"In short, four years of terrible chastisement—of God's unmistakable judgments—have not taught us, as a people, their lesson, which could scarcely be plainer if it had been written in letters of fire on the sky. Why is it that we are so slow to learn, so unwilling to confess that SLAVERY is the accursed thing which whets the knife of murder, and transforms men, with the exterior of gentlemen and Christians, into fiends? How pitiful is our exultation over the capture of the wretched Booth and his associates! The great criminal, of whom he and they were but paltry instruments, [illegible] abroad in the pine woods or Jersey, where the State has thrown around him her legislative sanction and protection. He is in Pennsylvania, thrusting the black man from public conveyances. Wherever God's children are despised, insulted, and abused on account of their color, there is the real assassin of the President still at large. I do not wonder at the indignation which has been awakened by the late outrage, for I have painfully shared it. But let us see to it that it is rightly directed. The hanging of a score of Southern traitors will not restore Abraham Lincoln nor atone for the mighty loss. In wreaking revenge upon these miserable men, we must see to it that we do not degrade ourselves and do dishonor to the sacred memory of the dead. We do well to be angry; and, if need be, let our wrath wax seven times hotter, until that which 'was a murderer from the beginning' is consumed from the face of the earth. As the people stand by the grave of Lincoln, let them lift their right hands to heaven, and take a solemn vow upon their souls to give no sleep to their eyes nor slumber to their eyelids, until slavery is hunted from its last shelter, and every man, black and white, stands equal before the law.

"In dealing with the guilty leaders and instigators of the rebellion, we should beware how we take counsel of passion. Hatred has no place beside the calm and awful dignity of justice. Human life is still a very sacred thing; Christian forbearance and patience are still virtues. For my own part, I should be satisfied to see the chiefs of the great treason go out from among us homeless, exiled forever, with the brand of Cain on their foreheads, carrying with them wherever they go the avenging Nemesis of conscience. We cannot take lessons, at this late day, in their school of barbarism; we cannot starve and torture them as they have starved and tormented our soldiers. Let them live. Perhaps that is, after all, the most terrible penalty. For wherever they hide themselves, the story of their guilt will pursue them—they can have no rest nor peace save in that deep repentance, which, through the mercy of God, is possible even for them.

"I have no disposition to stand between these men and justice. If arrested, they can have no claim to exemption from the liabilities of criminals. But it is not simply a question of their deserts that is to be considered; we are to take into account our own reputation as a Christian people, the wishes of our best friends abroad, and the humane instincts of the age, which forbid all unnecessary severity. Happily we are not called upon to take counsel of our fears. Rabbinical writers tell us that evil spirits who are once baffled in a contest with human beings lose thenceforth all power of further mischief. The defeated rebels are in the precise condition of these Jewish demons. Deprived of slavery, they are wasps who have lost their stings.

"As respects the misguided masses of the South, the shattered and crippled remnants of the armies of treason, the desolate wives, mothers, and children mourning for dear ones who have fallen in a vain and hopeless struggle, it seems to me our duty is very plain. We must forgive their past treason and welcome and encourage their returning loyalty. None but cowards will insult and taunt the defeated and defenceless. We must feed and clothe the destitute, instruct the ignorant, and, bearing patiently with the bitterness and prejudice which will doubtless for a time thwart our efforts and misinterpret our motives, aid them in rebuilding their States on the foundation of freedom. Our sole enemy was slavery, and slavery is dead. We have now no quarrel with the people of the South, who have really more reason than we have to rejoice over the downfall of a system which impeded their material progress, perverted their religion, shut them out from the sympathies of the world, and ridged their land with the graves of its victims.

"We are victors—the cause of all this evil and suffering is removed forever—and we can afford to be magnanimous. How better can we evince our gratitude to God for His great mercy than in doing good to those who have hated us, and in having compassion on those who have despitefully used us. The hour is hastening for us all when our sole ground of dependence will be the mercy and forgiveness of God. Let us endeavour so to feel and act in our relations to the people of the South that we can repeat in sincerity the prayer of our Lord: 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us,' reverently acknowledging that He has indeed 'led captivity captive and received *gifts* for men; yea, for the *rebellious* also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.' J. G. W."

### *THEIR EXPECTATION.*

A NORTHERN friend of ours, just returned from Staunton, in Virginia, tells us that he had a conversation, while there, with a Mr. Baldwin, who is one of the leading public men of that region, and a devotee of Southern superiority. Balwin admitted that the South was whipped, thoroughly whipped, but, said he, "We shall rule you of the North and West, nevertheless. Slavery, I admit, is dead—IN NAME! We will continue to monopolize the labor of the blacks, as we have always done, though under a different form. The South will be a unit. She will divide the North and West on the question of negro labor, and we shall have President Johnson' last Congress, and then we'll show you that it is we who have conquered you, not you us!"

Mr. Baldwin has spoken out the expectation of all the South and its retainers in the North. Forewarned, forearmed! But this Virginia patriarch of the slavery school forgets there is at work an element of dissolution of Southern society which will prevent its operating as a unit, and that is the poor white's hatred of caste, developed by the tyranny of the slaveholding aristocracy in the last four years. The freed black population will unite with this element, and the junction of the two forces will overwhelm and destroy Mr. Baldwin and his landed oligarchy, as surely as two and two make four. The conflict of ideas is already upon us. It is irrepressible. Let the friends of negro rights be up and doing, and show the arrogant Baldwins of the South that they shall not rule the free North and West.

### *PRESIDENT JOHNSON.*

A VERY original, very determined, it may be a very dangerous, but unquestionably very powerful man, has succeeded Abraham Lincoln. The public in this country has been deceived as much by the formal utterance of Mr. Johnson when accepting the Presidency, as by the accident which threw such ridicule over his inauguration in the subordinate office. This is no feeble ruler, sure to be a tool in the hands of his secretaries or the parties around him, any more than it is a drunken rough elevated by an accident and incapable of an idea, but a strong, self-reliant man, accustomed to rule, and to rule in a revolution, with a policy as distinct as that of the oldest European statesman, and a will which, be that policy wise or rash, will assuredly make resistance to it a most dangerous task. There is no single point in politics which it is so important to Englishmen to understand as the character of the American President; they cannot afford a second mistake such as that committed about Mr. Lincoln, and we have passed hours in studying the speeches and acts of Mr. Johnson as Governor of Tennessee. The more we have read, the more strongly has the conclusion grown on us that the new American President is one of the most individual men on the continent—a ruler who, whatever else he may do or leave undone, will most assuredly rule; who will borrow knowledge, but will accept advice only when it harmonizes with his own preconceived convictions.

'A Quaker,' says Sam Slick, 'who dissents from Quakerism must have a pretty stiff upper lip,' and a man who, born a Southerner, raised himself into the idol of slave-owning Democrats, and then, convinced that slavery was an evil, flung himself down from his position, down to the very bottom, a homeless, landless, friendless man, and then fought his way back to the very top as chief of the anti-slavery Democrats, is not the man to be 'guided' by softer politicians. Andrew Johnson, unless we mistake utterly all the indications of his life, is simply Andrew Jackson over again, and we are not certain whether the repetition of the character is not conscious, whether Mr. Johnson has not recognized his resemblance to that prototype, and modelled himself to make the resemblance visible. He is always talking of him, always quoting him, and the accidental analogy of careers must frequently have struck him. Like Jackson, Mr. Johnson was born in the Carolinas, a poor if not a 'mean' white—he says 'I picked cotton as an apprentice, and picked twice as much as any slave'—and, like him emigrated to Tennessee, and there became the idol of the democracy through the force of an imagination which requires strong ideas to stir it, a passion for the Union, and therefore a resolution to defend it at all times by all means legal and lawless equally. Had Jackson been encountered, as he was threatened, with a slaveholders' revolt, he would, we can hardly doubt, have passed, as Mr. Johnson has done, onwards from resisting slave-owners to an iron determination that slavery should end—end, as the new President says, 'now, unconditionally, forever'—so that no State shall have the power to reëstablish it. On that point there is in Mr. Johnson's mind no possibility of truce or compromise.

Not to pursue the external analogy, it appears certain that internally, in heart and brain, Mr. Johnson is a democrat—we use the word in its English sense—of the Jackson type, a democrat, that is, with a tendency towards equality as well as freedom, a restlessness under law, a disposition to act in emergencies with revolutionary energy or violence. His mind has none of the bias towards legality which his life as a lawyer had impressed upon Mr. Lincoln, none of that desire for moderation as in itself a good which so distinguished that great man. On the contrary, he places the will of the people above the law as distinctly as Danton ever did. 'What,' he said to the people of Tennessee in January, when already elected Vice-President, and, as he remarked, placed above 'all double-dealing and demagoguism,' what 'are governments? They come from the people; you are the people, hence you cannot do wrong.' It is sufficient defence, he continued, to a charge of over-stepping the laws, to be sure that you have saved the republic. 'The people must sometimes take the law into their hands, and do desperate and irregular acts to save the life of a nation.' Indeed he preferred, in the emergencies, irregular acts, for permanent changes in the law left, he thought, unpleasant memories, which were better avoided by temporary and explicit acts, utterances of the will of the people, 'which can make and unmake law,' which obviously in Mr. Johnson's mind is law, provided always it accepts the Union. That, or in other words *salus reipublicæ*, is as supreme an object in his mind as ever it was in the mind of a Roman patrician or a Parisian Septembriser.

There is nothing that we know of in that which Englishmen can blame. We also should do strong acts if the life of the nation required them, we also indeed did do them when only the future of a dependency was in question. But the tendency of Mr. Johnson's mind is to do them when it is possible to dispense with them, to prefer strong measures to legal means, as the swifter and more direct road. Thus, he rejected Mr. Lincoln's plan of emancipating for service to the Union as too tardy and incomplete, and hurried back to Tennessee to secure permanent, uncompensated emancipation by a constitutional change. To secure it he had almost to overturn society by a system of test oaths, but he thought the 'emergency' warranted that 'desperate' remedy, and he succeeded in his design. A convention composed of loyal men abolished slavery forever, but even this was too slow for the strong-willed governor. While the discussion was still going on, he stood one evening on the steps of the State Capitol, and there uttered these remarkable words: 'Colored men of Nashville: You have all heard of the President's proclamation, by which he announced to the world that the slaves in a large portion of the seceded States were thenceforth and forever free. For certain reasons, which seemed wise to the President, the benefits of that proclamation did not extend to you or to your native State. Many of you consequently were left in bondage. The taskmaster's scourge was not yet broken, and the fetters still galled your limbs. Gradually this iniquity has been passing away, but the hour has come when the last vestiges of it must be removed. Consequently, I too, without reference to the President or any other person, have a proclation to make, and standing here upon the steps of the Capitol, with the past history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and its future to encourage me, I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad, and unconditional, to every man in Tennessee!'

Not a man to be 'guided' that,—rather a man with Jacobin instincts, who, once satisfied that a cause is that of the people, strives to carry it without laws, by intense will, and if necessary by the exertion of that popular sovereignty, that majesty of mere volition, which laws human and divine were alike intended to limit.

The 'Red' tone, so to speak, may be heard under all his utterances. It was a remarkable point in President Jackson that he alone among American Presidents, or with the partial exception of Jefferson, had the idea that freedom in the United States ought to tend towards social equality—had a latent hostility towards money power and the aggregation of property, as essentially aristocratic. Jackson's war with the National Bank was throughout justified by him as an attack on a new aristocracy, and he hated Biddle, the bank president, as the representative of a power essentially undemocratic. So well was this understood, that Seba Smith, in the extraordinary series of satires called "Major Downing's Letters"—which have scarcely been heard of in this country, but which so nearly changed the course of the American government that Jackson on his death bed expected their author from his general forgiveness to mankind—used his wit chiefly to prove that powerful men were not dangerous to the republic. Jackson abolished them none the less, and Mr. Johnson evidently shares his feeling.

He was incessantly attacked in Tennessee as an 'agrarian,' and though he expressly and repeatedly denies that charge, he nevertheless regards great properties, entails, and land 'monopolies,' with a rooted distrust, and, when accumulated out of the profits of slave labor, with a feeling not easily to be distinguished from hate. 'I am no agrarian,' he said. 'I wish to see secured to every man, rich or poor, the fruits of his honest industry, effort, or toil. I want each man to feel that what he has gained by his own skill, or talent, or exertion, is rightfully his, and his alone. But if, through an iniquitous system, a vast amount of wealth has been accumulated in the hands of one man, or a few men, then that result is wrong, and the sooner we can right it, the better for all concerned. It is wrong that Mack Cockrill and G. W. Harding, by means of forced and unpaid labor, should have monopolized so large a share of the lands and wealth of Tennessee; and I say if their immense plantations were divided up and parcelled out amongst a number of free, industrious, and honest farmers, it would give more good citizens to the Commonwealth, increase the wages of our mechanics, enrich the markets of our city, enliven all the arteries of trade, improve Society, and add to the glory of the State.'

Naming men, even though rebels, whose properties are to be divided among an audience then and there listening, is for a Governor a strong measure, but Mr. Johnson repeated his theory in his farewell speech. Then, as now, he affirmed that the 'leading rebels, not the rank and file,' the 'intelligent, conscious rebels,' must suffer the penalty of death, and the lands of the great planters be so distributed 'that they should contribute to restore to the thousands of suffering poor the little substance they have lost by the devastations and burnings of this war.' This is doubtless the policy to which he adheres in his speech of the 16th April to the deputation from Illinois, and the reason which has induced him to stop the sales of confiscated land in South Carolina until he has made up his mind how the estates should be re-distributed.

We should fail by mere extracts to give our readers the full impression these speeches have made on us, and must content ourselves with stating the conviction left on our own minds that Mr. Johnson does not only hate slavery, but that type of society of which slaveholding is the extreme form—society with violent chasms between classes, and excessive disparities of condition. We should not even wonder, so strong do we believe this feeling to be, if it influenced the system of taxation to be ultimately adopted by the Union, and suggested a great development of that extraordinary measure, the effect of which will one day be felt on the price of labor throughout the world, the Homestead Law. As for slavery, the President will make no terms with it whatever, will evidently root it out absolutely and finally, making it a condition of peace that the States shall abandon the right to reëstablish the system, and granting, so far as we gather, no manner of compensation. Indeed it is not hard to trace in these speeches a distinct plan for the completion of the work still remaining to be done, to which the President, who is palpably inflexible except on details, will in the main adhere. This plan is to secure two changes in the National Constitution, the first making slavery forever illegal and abolishing distinctions of color, the second declaring the Union a republic one and indivisible. In every State as it is subdued by the troops a convention will be called to insert unconditional freedom to all men among the clauses of the State Constitution, and then the Confiscation Act will be worked so as to allow of the sub-division of the larger plantations among the poor whites and colored men. Society will then, he believes, be revolutionized from the foundation,

tures of the plot, though the main actor in it, Dr. Blackburn, has escaped into "neutral" territory. During the recent yellow fever epidemic in Bermuda, this Dr. Blackburn took passage for that island. He was a Southerner, formerly resident in Natchez, Miss. After his arrival, he attended several yellow fever patients at the Hamilton Hotel, and at a Mrs. Slater's. Some of them died under his care. He collected their bed-clothing—including a large quantity of woolen clothing which, in one case at least, he had ordered to be piled upon the patients in order to receive the infection,—packed it in trunks, and sent it to the house of Edward C. Swan, to be kept by him till an opportunity offered to send it North. Blackburn himself then left for Halifax.

It became known to the authorities of Hamilton that this infected clothing was in possession of Swan, and they caused his arrest. On the preliminary examination, the above facts appeared. It was shown also that the Health Officer found these trunks in Swan's possession, crammed full of clothes that had manifestly been used by yellow fever patients. Swan himself testified that Blackburn had delivered these trunks to him. Another witness swore that Swan had told him he received the trunks to be sent North, in order to communicate the yellow fever. Still another witness swore that Blackburn had told him he had delivered the trunks to Swan for that purpose, and the wages for the service were variously stated at $500 in the whole, and at $150 a month while Swan was engaged in the business. And Blackburn told Swan to call on the officers of the Confederate government for money. One of the trunks was marked "St. Louis Hotel, Upper town, Quebec," and again, "Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Canada side."

But we need not recapitulate more of the evidence. Let it be read in full, and let each reader satisfy his own mind as to its completeness. The magistrates of Bermuda held Swan for trial. The whole world will try and condemn on the same evidence not merely Dr. Blackburn, but the rebellion and its leaders, of whom Blackburn was but one miserable and guilty tool.—*Tribune, May* 16.

### *CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.*

[A great meeting was held in Charleston, S. C., May 12, in Zion Church. Five thousand people came together to greet the Chief-Justice of the United States. Maj.-Gen. Saxton presided, and said in his opening speech :]

"I WANT the colored men in this Department to petition the President of the United States and Congress for the right to exercise the elective franchise—the right to vote for those who are to rule over them. I remember when I was a boy reading in the papers the story of an old man who had been President of the United States, and had returned to the Congress of the United States when eighty years of age, and fought the battle for the colored man. He stood almost alone. Very few were there to help him. He was cursed from one end of the South to the other. That man was John Quincy Adams. The battle was for the right of petition. He triumphed. That right of petition has been bequeathed to every colored man of the South. You must use that right. Nobody can say a word in this Department against the colored men signing a petition and sending it to the President of the United States. I want to see 150,000 men voting in South Carolina. I want to see the black man in the future save a nation's honor."

[The Chief-Juslice was then introduced, and spoke as follows :]

"MY FRIENDS : I shall comply with the invitation of Gen. Saxton to address you a very few words. It is true that I have always been the friend of freedom. I have always desired to see every man, of whatever complexion, protected in the enjoyment of all his natural rights, and to see every man clothed with every legitimate means for the protection of those rights. No man, probably, in this country, deplores this war more than myself, perhaps no man would have made greater sacrifices to avert it. I did not wish to see even the great good of emancipation obtained at such a terrible cost. I believed that it would have come some time—that by a wise and just administration of the Federal government the time might be hastened—but I never desired to see such a terrible struggle as we have passed. I never desired to see those seas of blood and those vast gulfs in which the treasures of the country have been sunk, even for this highest good which could be obtained by no other means. But in the providence of God the war came ; and as a means of carrying that war through to a successful issue I felt it was the duty of the General government to respect its natural allies, and I knew that the whole colored people of the South were loyal (prolonged cheers). And I trusted and I felt that if we would succeed in this struggle we must strike the fetters from the bondmen (cheers). Such was my counsel in the Cabinet, and when that honored man, whose death this nation now mourns in common with all the lovers of freedom throughout the world—when that honored man made up his mind to say that all men in this land shall be free, no one gave it a more hearty sanction and a more emphatic amen than myself (cheers). Then, when that other question arose, "Shall we put arms into the hands of the black man ?" I never doubted. If we make them freemen, and the defense of their freedom is the defense of this nation, whose duty is it to bear arms, if not theirs ? (Cheers.) Whose duty is it to take part in this struggle now for freedom as well as for Union, if it is not their duty ? And how can we expect to succeed if we do not avail ourselves of that natural strength which in this struggle is created for us by the circumstances in which it is waged ? So, when the government made up their mind to call black men to the field, I felt that they did not do it one moment too soon, but a great many days too late (cheers). And how has the colored man borne his proper share in this struggle ? If anybody has made sacrifices, he has made them. If anybody has suffered extreme ill, he has suffered it. And the victory being won and freedom and Union now secure, who has a better right than he to partake of the fruits of both ? I think the right peculiar and incontestible—and it is as a simple matter of justice and right that I have advocated it. I believe that the safety of the nation as well as of individuals, consists in doing justice. I believe in the truth of that scripture which says, "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely." That man and that nation which links himself or itself with justice and truth and relies on the providence of Almighty God, is sure to issue safely and triumphantly. It may be that great struggles have to be gone through, great sacrifices made, great trials endured, great martyrdoms suffered. This war has seen its multitudes of martyrs, the last and noblest of them struck down by the hand of an assassin a few days ago. Great martyrdoms may yet be endured ; but through them all the right cause will come out in the end triumphant and sure, for a just God is on the throne and he wills it. In this issue, I said that victory is won, the battle is over, the army of the rebellion is disbanded, peace returns, and this brings with it its duties. The country is in a very peculiar condition. A great race, numbering 4,000,000 is suddenly brought into freedom. Our country is looking to see whether the prophecies of the enemies of that race will be fulfilled or falsified. It rests upon the men of that race to say. They say that you will be disorderly, idle, improvident, lazy ; that you will starve rather than work ; that wages cannot tempt you to work ; that you will become disorderly and vagabonds. Your enemies say that ; and a great many people not your enemies fear it. It rests with you to show whether it shall be so or not. It does not devolve on you, my friends, to have too much anxiety as to what people say of you ; feel in your inmost convictions that your salvation, under God, rests with yourselves. If you will, by your honesty, temperance, industry, faithfulness in all employments, by your readiness to work for honest wages, by your economical savings —if you will lay up a portion of each week's earnings in some Savings Bank for yourselves and family in a wet day—if you do everything in your power to increase the productive resources of the country ; if, as agriculturists in agriculture, as mechanics in the mechanic art : if in this employment and that employment ; if in whatsoever your hands find to do—you excel and have an honest character, you will save yourselves, and reflect credit on those who have been your friends. God forbid that before I die I shall have to hang my head in shame and say, Well, I expected a great deal of this people—that they could bear freedom, that they would be honest and industrious and orderly, and I find that I am mistaken ; that they allowed miserable prejudices to grow up among them ; that they allowed vindictiveness to grow up in their breasts ; that they were pleased when white men were overcome ; that they were unwilling to take their part cheerfully in life and improve their condition. I was a Western boy, and I know that labor must be the cardinal law of our lives. In a log cabin of the West we fared just as rough and hard as most of you have to fare, and we had very little of any kind of capital—nothing to go upon but our good wills, patient hearts, and equal opportunities for education, which every white boy—thank God—has had in this country, and all black ones who want it can now have. Well, upon this capital we went to work and came to something, and now you can do the same thing if you go to work. But if you spend your time in fretting because this or that white man has better time than you have, or more advantages, and take short cuts to what you may think success, then you will be very sadly disappointed. I talk frankly and sincerely, as one who has always been your friend. If you go to work patiently and labor faithfully ; if as soldiers you fight well, as preachers you preach well, as carpenters you shove your planes well and with all your might and main ; if you till your fields as well, and put in as much cotton as you can ; if you work honestly for honest wages until you can afford to hire laborers and then pay them honest wages too—if you act thus, the result will be glorious ; you need have no fears for your future. Now, about the elective franchise, Major Delany says that he heard me in the Capitol of the United States say that the black man ought to have the elective franchise. If he had listened to me 20 years ago in the city of Cincinnati, he would have heard me say the same thing. Things have worked on toward that result, and certainly they look a great deal better now than then. If everybody in this city saw things exactly as I see them ; if they felt as I feel, that it is in the interest of everybody, white and black, that every man should have the same rights before the law, it would come very soon. But there is not that agreement. I am not prepared to say—(I am no politician and have nothing to do with politics, and I am not in the councils of the government)—I do not know what it is prepared to do, or will do ; but I will only say this, that I believe there is not a member of the government who would not be pleased to see suffrage universal ; but at the some time I do not know, because I have no means of knowing, that government is prepared to say that suffrage shall be universal. But this I do know, that if you are patient, and constantly show by your acts that you merit the right of suffrage, that you can be safely trusted with the right of suffrage, that in your hands it will be on the side of order and liberty, and education, and progress, and be honestly used, I can safely say, because I reason on general principles, that you will get it. You may get it very soon ; it may be delayed ; I cannot tell, because it is not in my power. If it were in my power you would get it—it might be to-day ; it might be to-morrow ; it would not be long. But that you will have it in the end is just as sure as it is that you respect yourselves and respect the rights of all, and do your very best to show that you are worthy of it. I have no doubt about that, and I trust you will show yourselves so worthy and behave so well in this city of Charleston, that every man who has been strongest in opposition to your rights may become satisfied of his error and say we have been mistaken, and it is better that everybody have the right of suffrage than be without it. What I want is that you will make them think so. You cannot by any misbehavior, but you can by patience and perseverance in well-doing. Now, then, if the government of the United States, taking everything into consideration, does not at once enrol you as citizens and voters, what is your duty ? To fret and worry ? I think not. If I were in your case I would just go to work and show by my conduct that the government of the United States had made a mistake in making a delay. If you do that—if that mistake is made—it will be speedily corrected. I think it is best for all men—white men and black men, and brown men—if you will make that distinction—that every man who is honest and every man who is of due age shall have the right of suffrage. Because, having it, it seems to me, he will more respect himself, do more work, do more productive labor, do more to increase the wealth of the community, be more respected by his fellow-men—and a society composed of such men is always great. Hence, I am in favor of all having the ballot ; but if government should think differently and circumstances delay its action, be calm, laborious, patient, faithful, I advise you. I think it also your duty. Ordinarily, the simple performance of duty is so blessed of God that men are better off in all respects in this world by it. But if these results do not attend the performance of duty ; if a man carries in his heart the consciousness that he does what is right in the sight of God, or what he believes to be right, rendering to each his due, withholding his due from none, contributing as much as he can to the general happiness and general improvement, diffusing as much enjoyment as he can in the little sphere of which he is the centre—then with that consciousness he may go through life as "happy as a king," though he may never be a king, and he may end it in felicity and go where there is an end to those controversies, because there is one God and one Father to whom all His children are equal (cheers).

### *SEVEN-THIRTIES—NEW SERIES.*

THE exhaustion of the second series of the Seven-Thirties, and the unavoidable delay in getting the third series ready for delivery, seem to have produced a temporary lull in the subscriptions. Yet the sales of the last two days amount to more than six millions of dollars. The people show themselves eager to lend that sum to a government which has sold its bonds so fast that it lacks at this moment the mechanical facilities to produce and deliver the paper evidence of its indebtedness to those who desire to become its creditors.

There remain something less than $230,000,000 of the loan authorized by the Act of March, 1865. This amount the Secretary of the Treasury will issue in Seven-Thirties, exactly similar in all respects to the first and second series now disposed of, except that the right is reserved to pay six per cent. interest in gold instead of seven three-tenths per cent. in currency—at the option of the government. The deliveries of the bonds of this new series cannot begin before June 1, but subscriptions will be received meantime, and will be registered and filled in the order of their receipt. How long the opportunity to secure these bonds at par is likely to last can scarcely be judged from the fact that the preceding series of $300,000,000 was exhausted in six weeks ; the subscription opening April 1, and the whole amount being taken by the end of last week, May 13. For it is to be noted that [illegible] the second series began somewhat languidly, and during the first week in April reached only about one million of dollars, during last week they amounted to ninety-eight million, and nearly one half of the whole $300,000,000 was sold during the last two weeks.

It is impossible, therefore, to predict with what degree of rapidity this new and last loan will be taken up, nor how long there will remain any loan to subscribe to. When the last of the present series is subscribed for, people who want government securities—the best of all securities—must go to the brokers and bankers and buy them at a premium. *Tribune, May* 17.

### *RECONSTRUCTION IN NORTH CAROLINA.*

[The following correspondence has passed between colored citizens of North Carolina and Charles Sumner. We rejoice to note that the negroes are endeavoring to make their claim heard at the North—a very important step to getting it acknowledged. And nothing could be better than Mr. Sumner's response.]

WILMINGTON, N. C., April 29, 1865.

*Hon.* CHARLES SUMNER, *Washington.*

DEAR SIR : We, the undersigned citizens, Executive Board of the Colored Union Leagues of this city, respectfully ask your attention to the subject of reconstruction in this State, and for a few plain directions in relation to a proper stand for us to make.

We forward also a copy of the *Herald*, containing an article on reconstruction, which causes us much anxiety, in connection with other facts that are constantly pressed upon our attention in this rebel State, although much is said concerning its loyalty that is unreliable and untrue. Many of us have done service for the United States government, at Fort Fisher and elsewhere, and we shrink with horror at the thought that we may be left to the tender mercies of our former rebel masters, who have taken the oath, but are filled with malice, and swear vengeance against us as soon as the military are withdrawn.

We are loyal colored citizens, and strive in all things so to conduct ourselves that no just cause of complaint may exist, although we suffer much from the unwillingness of the secessionists to regard us as *freemen*, and look up to the flag of our country with trembling anxiety, knowing that the *franchise* alone can give us security for the future.

We speak with moderation and care, we lay no charges, but we fear that an ill-judged lenity to rebels in this State will leave little to us and our children but the bare name of freedmen. We remember Louisiana ! Better "smash the egg" than permit it to produce a viper.

We beg an early answer. Direct, simply, Alfred Howe, Wilmington, North Carolina. Do not frank your letter ; I send a stamp. For reference, Jonathan C. Gibbs mentions the name of Rev. H. H. Garnett, a colored Presbyterian minister in Washington, and Hon. Judge Kelley, from Pennsylvania.

ALFRED HOWE, President.

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| D. SADGENAR, | OWEN BURNEY, |
| H. D. SAMPSON, | HENRY TAYLOR, |
| JONA. C. GIBBS, | RICHARD REED. |

SENATOR SUMNER'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1865.

GENTLEMEN : I am glad that the colored citizens of North Carolina are ready to take part in the organization of government. It is unquestionably their right and duty.

I see little chance of peace or tranquility in any rebel State unless the rights of all are recognized without distinction of color. On this foundation we must build.

The article on reconstruction to which you call my attention proceeds on the idea of slavery, that persons with a white skin are the only "citizens." This is a mistake.

As you do me the honor to ask me the proper stand for you to make, I have no hesitation in replying that you must insist on all the rights and privileges of a citizen. They belong to you. They are yours ; and whoever undertakes to rob you of them is a usurper and an imposter.

Of course you will take part in any primary meetings for political organization, open to citizens generally, and will not miss any opportunity to show your loyalty and fidelity.

Accept my best wishes, and believe me, gentlemen,
Faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1865.


### *NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.*

THE Annual NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, at the MELODEON, on WEDNESDAY, May 31st, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

Questions of great importance and interest, in relation to the final Abolition of Slavery in the United States, will doubtless come before the Convention. All the old members of it, and all persons interested, are invited to attend.

By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. EDMUND QUINCY, Pres.

R. F. WALCUT, SAMUEL MAY, JR., } Secretaries.

### *SALUTATION.*

WITH the present number begins a new year of this journal's life. We need not recapitulate the great steps in the onward march of the Anti-Slavery cause and question for the last few years. They are too familiar to the glad recollection of Abolitionists to need to be stated in detail. The President's Proclamation, the arming of the Negro and obliging a reluctant Administration at last to concede the almost absolute equality of the black soldier with the white—these are our past gains. As we look forward, we see the fairest prospect that the nation will ratify the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution. Were we engaged with a foe less subtle or determined than the Slave Power, we should say we see the absolute certainty of such ratification. When that Amendment is incorporated into the United States Constitution (a fact which will be notified to the world by a proclamation from the office of the Secretary of State), Slavery will, in the eye of the law, cease to exist. Then no auction-block for the sale of human beings can be legally set up under our flag ; then the negro, like any other citizen, can pass from one locality to another as he pleases. On this last point there may have been some doubt in times past, when the Federal and State Judiciaries were wholly under pro-slavery influence, and "black laws," as we called them, forbidding the passage of black men from State to State, were enacted and upheld. But we trust that, in time to come, Courts under better influences will hold all such attempts at legislation null and void. That a negro shall not be sold at auction and shall change his residence as he pleases —this is the sum of all that our Constitutional Amendment secures to him.

Every one familiar with our State and Federal system of government knows that all the essential rights of individual citizens depend on State laws and action. Whether a man shall hold land, make a will, sue or testify in a Court of Justice, sit on a jury, be protected in his marriage relation, be free in his choice of business, carry it on safely and be protected in the gains of his industry, all these rights depend on the laws of the particular State in which he dwells ; with these rights the Federal Government has little or nothing to do.

To Abolitionists, therefore, residing under such a machinery of government, the question becomes vitally important what is to be the nature and complexion of the State Governments under whose laws the negro race is probably to live. Are these governments to be wholly in the hands of white men, and of such white men as have always hated, cheated, and oppressed the negro ? If so, what guarantees can be had for him that his newly recognized liberty will be a reality and not a sham ?

Up to within forty days it seemed more than probable, almost certain, that the rebel States would be reconstructed on a system which would leave the negro defenceless. No probability existed that, unless forced by outside pressure, the Government would secure him a vote, or such real estate as would enable him to protect himself.

It is understood that the present Administration is favorably disposed to grant him both. It will doubtless do, in that direction, all that the country will sustain. Certainly it will attempt all that a mature and emphatically uttered public opinion demands.

How shall this public opinion be formed, and how, when formed, shall it be emphatically uttered ? These are the most important questions for Abolitionists to consider, and embrace the duty of the [illegible] session of the American Anti-Slavery Society, calling on its members to go forward with unflagging zeal, shows that it accepts this duty and girds itself to fulfil it. As in all its past life, the Society rises superior to form and routine, changing its point of attack as the shifting need of the battle demands. At first we grappled with the plan of Colonization ; that dead, we directed our weapons against Slavery hidden behind the Church. Unearthed from that shelter, we next attacked the system as protected by the Constitution and Union ; leaving the name of Infidels behind us to earn that of Disunionists—all in the service of liberty. When the war broke out, we clutched the full strength of the War Power to save that Union we had cursed, to save it because it had become the citadel of Freedom. Again we change front to fight the battle of Suffrage, seeing that today the ballot-box is the only real charter of emancipation.

The question what shall be done with the lives of the rebels has little directly to do with our cause. Its only value, from the slave's stand-point, is this. The nation is now all at white heat, ready for any measure and eager for some decisive one that will crush this rebellion and prevent any other. Allow it to delude itself with the idea that the death of a few individuals will effect this, let it satiate its zeal with this vengeance, and there will be no feeling left to insist on those safeguards which the negro needs. Having gratified its passion with the gibbet, the nation will go to sleep. It is therefore to be now patiently and thoroughly taught that only by smothering its own prejudices and meting out exact justice between man and man, will it ever crush this rebellion or prevent another. This perpetual talk of "justice to traitors" is to be turned back on the utterers, and they are to be reminded that justice accorded to the negro is as sacred a duty as justice dealt out to traitors.

But we are to hold the nation strictly to this rule : *No Reconstruction without Negro Suffrage.* No matter what else we yield, here our demand is to be inexorable. Abolitionists are to be educated to see that, without this, freedom, so called, is a sham. The nation is to be taught that the agitation of the slave question, which has distracted it for thirty years, will be quieted only by this concession. There has been thorough discussion in our ranks of this question of negro suffrage for the past two years. At first, the difference of opinion in regard to it was very wide. To that period it is now unnecessary to refer, since at present all Abolitionists with whom we are acquainted, agree that the negro is entitled to the ballot. Most, if not all, agree that there is no guaranty for the nation's peace and future but in negro suffrage. The difference of opinion at present, in the anti-slavery ranks, is this. One party is willing to accept the Constitutional Amendment as the end of their special battle, and leave the question of negro suffrage to the justice and good sense of the rebel States when reconstructed. This was evident by the willingness on their part to advocate the admission of Louisiana, a government of white men alone. The other party, represented by the American Anti-Slavery Society, will, in the negro's name, accept no liberty as real which does not include the ballot, and insists on keeping every rebel State where she now is, out of the Government and under military rule, till she comes back with a truly Republican Constitution, and with no distinction among her citizens on account of race. The distinction between these two methods is vital. Once admit South Carolina to Congress and all her State rights, on the system of her being governed exclusively by white men, and slavery under another name will be immediately re-established there, while the Federal Government must look on powerless to prevent it. Reconstruction without giving the negro land and a vote, means the return of Slavery in all but the name. To consent to the return of the rebel States in the hands of their white citizens, is undoing half the work of the war. Stanton called Sherman's first offer to Johnston "Sherman's surrender to Johnston." The Abolitionist who consents to any reconstruction which does not include negro suffrage, surrenders to the Slave Power..

To impress the Nation with these views, to support the Administration in going forward on this line as rapidly as possible, this is our present duty. Every one of our old tools to ripen and manifest public opinion, is to be kept bright by constant and tireless use. How much can we do ? The future will show. To do our utmost is our duty. Whether our numbers are many or few, whether our means are large or scanty, matters not. We have enough in any event to hold up the flag. The standard-bearer is not counted on to fight. But he marks the spot where the battle is hottest, and to which every brave and true man is bound to struggle forward. So much we could do, were we poor and only a handful. But we are neither. Every thoughtful man and accurate observer knows that the influence of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been, during the war, marked, wide, and powerful. Every day shows that it counts for sympathizers thousands where it once counted hundreds, and that men who formerly mobbed and reviled it, look now to it for guidance.

"Slavery is dead," has been said a thousand times during the last four years. Each speaker meant to say, Slavery is dead if the means now hotly active to kill it, continue active till the result is reached. No man who uttered that glad cry when Sumter yielded, supposed that slavery would die if Lincoln turned back and took counsel of Buchanan. His faith was based on the idea that the nation would, must, go forward and act a manly part in the struggle. So to-day, Slavery is dead IF WE DO OUR DUTY. IT LIVES IF WE ABDICATE : IF THE NATION, VICTORIOUS IN THE FIELD, SURRENDERS IN THE CABINET. Leave the negro, without the ballot, defenceless, in the hands of his old master, and after four years of poverty and confusion, the Slave Power under a new mask will enter the White House—for how long a reign none can tell.

### *GEN. HOWARD AND THE NEGRO.*

WE expect neither justice nor help for the negro from the Freedmen's Bureau under Gen. Howard's administration of it, since his first order contains so flagrant an insult to that race.

Under date of May 16, 1865, his first official bulletin says :

"The negro should understand that he is really free, but on no account, if able to work, should he harbor the thought that the Government will support him in idleness."

This is the old slaveholding tone : the insinuation that the negro will not work except under threat and compulsion, and the intimation that there is need for such an order on the ground that as the Government has found him since Emancipation an idler and a burden.

With Gen. Howard's ignorance, prejudice, or coward appeal to others' prejudice, we have nothing to do. But with him as representing the purpose of the Administration in this Bureau, we have, as friends of the negro, something to say. Thus speaks the officer of a Government which, on any fair consideration of the case, owes a thousand-fold more to the black race than to any other class which will come under the supervision of Gen. Howard—a Government which has had its benevolence taxed by the whites twice as much as by the hunted and friendless blacks—a Government which has again and again put the hardest and most disagreeable work in its camps upon black troops and never heard a murmur—a Government which has not yet found the Southern white man who will work, or the negro who refuses to work ; a Government which cannot point to any trial of industry in any, the most distracted, quarter, for the last four years, which has failed through lack of faithful toil on the part of the black race. In the field the negro has been as tireless and brave as any ; on the soil as painstaking and industrious as any ; in every emergency as shrewd and capable as any of averting want and getting his bread. Cheated, insulted, despised, he has never ceased to toil. Greedy men have everywhere coined wealth out of his still poorly requited labor. This is his first salutation from one set to protect and defend him. We have always said that this Bureau, unless in heads preeminently fit, would be the most serious obstacle in our path. If we are to judge him by this his first utterance, Gen. Howard is wholly unfit for the place. Only the most bitter prejudice or heartless indifference can explain the insinuation of such falsehood. To endeavor to account for it on the score of ignorance, would presuppose such an amount of it as wholly to unfit a man for any public station. Slavery is not dead while such a Bureau under such a head exists.

We judge from the appointment of Gen. Howard that the Bureau is to be in the hands of military men, probably West Pointers. They have been the negro's worst enemies during the whole war. If the Bureau is to be under their charge, it will redouble the labor of the negro's friends, seriously peril the peace of the country, cripple our industrial and commercial prosperity, and postpone the settlement of our National troubles for many a year. If we find such an organization of this Bureau carried out, we shall urge the abolition of the Bureau itself, the moment Congress assembles. We call upon every friend of the negro to watch this last device of the enemy, and be prepared to checkmate it. It must not be allowed to fasten itself upon the country. Fair play for the negro does not mean putting him bound hand and foot into the hands of those who despise and distrust him.

### *THE NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.*

SAYS the *Tribune :*

Among the Commissioners elected to the New School Presbyterian General Assembly, which met in Brooklyn, on Thursday, May 18, are two colored ministers, one from Philadelphia and the other from Newark. The Philadelphia delegate, the Rev. Thomas B. Reeve, was elected as alternate for the Rev. Dr. Brainard, the Moderator of the General Assembly of last year. Dr. Brainard is of opinion that Mr. Reeve is the first colored man ever elected to any General Assembly, and he deems it eminently proper that the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church, having been the first to enunciate the principles of human freedom, should be the first to rise above the prejudices of caste. The New School Presbyterians, in welcoming the representatives of the colored race as members of the highest board of the Church, have set a noble example to the other religious denominations of the land, the general imitation of which would powerfully aid in the elevation of the negroes, and the reconstruction of the Southern Churches, Southern society, and the Federal Union.

This body of which the two colored ministers are members has signalized its hostility to the rebellion by adopting a resolution or minute declaring in substance that treason is a sin morally as well as a crime politically, and that the ministers of the Presbyterian Church South, who have taken part in the rebellion are "most grievous sinners against the God of Heaven." And it is further declared that :

"In the event that any of the ministers referred to shall apply for admission into these Presbyteries, the Assembly advise the Presbyteries not to admit them, or in any way recognize them as Ambassadors of the cross of Christ, until they have given satisfactory evidence that they have sincerely repented of this sin."

This resolution passed the Assembly unanimously ; its opponents, who had announced their purpose to resist its passage, declining finally even to debate it.

### *THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN TENNESSEE.*

ARE the negroes of Tennessee free ? If they are, how many essential conditions of freedom do the white men of Tennessee mean to permit them to enjoy ? Certainly the legislature of the State does not yet recognize the blacks as citizens equal before the law. We find in the Cincinnati *Gazette* the following account of a bill which has lately passed the House of Representatives.

"It disqualifies blacks from bearing witness against whites. The blacks are made subject to a surveillance which regards them as *prima facie* vagrants with no rights that a white man is bound to respect. It ordains fine, imprisonment, and sale for a term, for this indefinable status. It provides penalties for white persons who harbor negroes. It requires all blacks to have themselves registered, paying the County Clerk a fee for registering. Through all the fifteen enacting sections of this bill, the term 'free persons of color' is repeated, as if to recognize the existence of slavery in Tennessee, although the people have decreed that there shall be no slaves in the State.

"But the section which gives additional color to all the rest, is one giving County Courts the power to bind out the children of free persons of color as apprentices to white masters. There is no specified limit to the time of this apprenticeship. Tennessee had better go back to slavery at once than to mock the blacks with liberty and then set up the power to take their children from them."

That bill is not yet, we presume, law, but the fact that it is possible so outrageous a measure could pass one branch of the Legislature ought to put every friend of the colored man on guard against similar encroachments in the other Southern States. If this be possible in Tennessee—President Johnson's own State which he declares has never been out of the Union, and from the steps of whose Capitol he proclaimed freedom to the negro—in what State is there to-day any assurance of citizenship to the blacks ? In none is there even a probability of securing them the right of self-protection against intolerable oppression, except by the help of energetic, intelligent, unceasing agitation at the North.

Nor can it be said this Legislature is an unfavorable specimen of what may be expected in the reconstructed States. In the same body which passed this bill, there came up a petition from 'the colored citizens of Tennessee,' and the following debate ensued. We quote from the Nashville *Press and Times* :

By Mr. Lewis—A petition from the colored citizens of Tennessee. Expressing gratitude for the Constitutional Amendment and for favors already received, they respectfully set forth their grievances, and ask redress at the hands of the Legislature. They say they know the burdens of citizenship, and are ready to bear them. Two hundred thousand of their race have enlisted in the national ranks—then is it just that they should be proscribed from fighting rebels at the ballot-box ? When colored men have been true to the government through thick and thin, is it right now, when the supremacy of that government is vindicated, that the service of such men should be ignored, while white traitors who have fought against their country are restored to citizenship ? This is not a democratic government if a large class of order-loving people are to be treated as aliens. The government asked them to use the bayonet, and now will it thrust them aside by denying them the ballot ? There have been hundreds and thousands of white rebels in Tennessee, but where are the black traitors ? And they finally ask the privilege of the elective franchise and all the rights of citizenship.

Mr. Willis moved to have the petition sent to Africa.

Mr. Hood moved that the gentleman be appointed to convey it there.

Mr. Richards moved for the printing of five hundred copies for the use of the House.

Mr. Moss spoke warmly in favor of having the petition received. He said it was a shame and a reproach to ask colored men to fulfil all the duties of citizenship, and yet deny them the rights of such relationship.

The motion to print five hundred copies was carried by 41 to 16.

And the *Press* remarks :

"A somewhat lengthy memorial from the colored citizens of Nashville to the Legislature, in reference to their future rights and protection, was presented in the House yesterday, and listened to with great respect. The House, recognizing the right of petition in every citizen, ordered five hundred copies to be printed. The petition is written in the most respectful terms, and will doubtless call forth an exciting, protracted, and interesting debate."

Of course it does not follow that the House will grant the petition it voted to receive, but it has at least received it with respect, and cannot reject it without a struggle. But the point to be noted is, that a legislative body, advanced enough in opinion to receive and discuss a petition for universal suffrage, is yet so backward in comprehending or accepting the new circumstances and relations of the State and the Negro, that before it considers the question of allowing him to vote, it passes a law to rob him of his newly-gained rights as a citizen. Such a Legislature cannot be trusted a moment. If the Government at Washington means to leave the fate of the negro in such hands, how long will it be before he finds himself on a level with the serfs of Louisiana ?

### *SOUTH CAROLINA LOYALTY.*

THE presence of Chief-Justice Chase in Charleston, and his speech on Negro Suffrage, which we give elsewhere, are not quite sufficient to pledge the State to freedom. It is said there were not more than five hundred whites in that great meeting of five or six thousand people. The very day before, the colored citizens had vainly sought to attend a public meeting called to take the initiative steps toward reorganizing a loyal government. Says a correspondent :

"The meeting was to convene at the Hibernian Hall at 12 m., and at the appointed hour the hall was well filled with both whites and blacks. It was plainly observable that the presence of the latter was by no means agreeable to the whites, although it was understood by the Committee who waited on Col. Gurney to receive permission to hold the meeting, that the colored people were not to be excluded."

To "conciliate" the whites, Lieut. Bodine of the 127th N. Y. Vols. ordered the negroes to withdraw, and they left the hall accompanied by the derisive cheers of the whites. Our correspondent goes on to say :

"But they had not been absent from the room over five minutes when back again they came, Mr. Redpath taking the lead, and occupied the seats on the left side of the hall. When they reentered, they in turn cheered. At this juncture of the proceedings, the white citizens commenced leaving the hall, and although Mayor Macbeth appealed to them to remain and go on with the business, stating at the same time that the presence of the colored men would in no way interfere with the consideration and discussion of the subjects to be presented, the retiring citizens could not be persuaded to return. Mayor Macbeth then announced the adjournment of the meeting."

So much for South Carolina white loyalty. Hatred to the freed blacks is a hundred times stronger. And the testimony is universal that there is no genuine Unionism in Charleston among the whites—nothing but a bitter acquiescence in the compulsory restoration of National authority. Yet there are men high in office under the National government who talk of "restoring" and "reconstructing" South Carolina on a white basis !

### *PERSONAL.*

One pleasant incident of the Grand Review in Washington is that John M. Forbes of Boston erected a capacious staging at his own expense, near the reviewing platform, for the exclusive use of the convalescent sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals.

The Empress Eugenie received Mr. and Mrs. Bigelow on Sunday, the 6th inst. Her Majesty, after expressing her profound emotion at the recent sad events in Washington, announced that she had addressed a private letter tendering her sympathy to Mrs. Lincoln.

The Secretary of State was at the State Department several times this week, attending to his official duties. Mr. Frederick Seward continues to improve, and is now able to read the leading papers. Mrs. Lincoln and family left Monday evening for Chicago.

The assassin Payne, says a correspondent, has at last been positively identified as one of a family of six brothers, born in Kentucky, who have engaged in crime since the war broke out. One of them was hung by the Confederates, and two others had to escape to Canada, where they were engaged by the rebel agent.

The Committee on the obsequies of President Lincoln in Boston have evinced their appreciation of the proprieties of the occasion, and the significance of recent events, by inviting Rev. Leonard Grimes of that city, the respected colored Baptist preacher, to officiate as one of the chaplains, which position we hear he has accepted.

Earl Derby shocked England by declaring in the House of Lords that the assassination of President Lincoln was "worse than a crime ; it was a blunder." Even the *Times* rebukes the Confederate Peer ; remarking that although the sentiment was originally Talleyrand's, it was uttered by him in private conversation, and though often quoted has never been defended, much less adopted in public. The Earl has since attempted to explain his use of it, but no explanations relieve him from the odium of such a declaration on such an occasion.

Gen. Weitzel publishes a card in the Cincinnati *Gazette*, denying that he removed a guard of colored soldiers from Mrs. Robert E. Lee's residence in Richmond, and the equally false rumor that he marched colored troops through the streets of the ex-rebel capital. But Gen. Weitzel does not deny that the colored soldiers were excluded from the first review held in Richmond while he was in command.

Chief-Justice Chase is accompanied on his Southern tour by Miss Chase, Mr. Mellen of the Treasury Department, Mr. Mellen, Jr., and Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the "Agate" of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. They remained in Charleston two days, and then sailed for Savannah and Hilton Head. From the latter place they were to proceed to Florida and thence to Havanna, Mobile, and New Orleans, and would be absent from Washington about six weeks.

Gen. Banks has been relieved from command in Louisiana, and ordered to report in person at Washington. He is said to be seriously implicated by the report of Gen. W. H. Smith and James T. Brady, who were sent to New Orleans as an Investigating Committee, and who have discovered extensive frauds in both the military and the civil administration of Louisiana. Gen. Banks's friends, however, assert that he is removed solely for military reasons.

Of Gen. ALFRED H. TERRY, the hero of Fort Fisher, and known to us during all the war as a radical anti-slavery soldier, the following is related by a member of the Connecticut Legislature :

"On that memorable Sunday when the trembling wire brought us the news of the fall of Sumter, I witnessed with him the raising of the old flag upon the flag-staff. He looked up at the flag, and I saw the big tears roll down his cheeks. He then said to me : 'I will enter the army, and I will never leave it alive until the insult which has been done to that flag shall be avenged, and the authority of the National Government reestablished over the revolted South.' And he has kept his word."

A letter written in 1862 by Thomas J. Durant, of New Orleans, to Cuthbert Bullitt, and an answer to the same by President Lincoln, have been lately published and elicited considerable comment.

The significance of Mr. Durant's letter, says the *Commonwealth*, seemed to us to be that in 1862 he held different views from those of 1865—a peculiarity not particularly singling out that gentlemen from many others of his countrymen. His may have been very erroneous, very dangerous views ; but, nevertheless, having grown wiser, and abandoned them, it would seem he should have a fair share of the sympathy so lavishly bestowed upon the Blairs, and other equally tardy repentants.

Mr. Durant writes to a friend in Boston concerning this publication as follows :

"Who told that editor that I 'assume to be a Radical of the Radicals'? I make no assumptions at all ; and have always stated just what I thought. Who furnished the correspondence from the Department at Washington ? My private letter to a private citizen, it seems, was handed to the President of the United States, who writes a reply to it, which I never saw or heard of, and both are filed in the State Department, thence to be drawn, three years after, under a total change of circumstances from those under which it was written, with the apparent view of showing that Banks's State government is right, since I, who opposed it, entertained, three years ago, some views of politics in common with Gen. Butler and Mr. Lincoln, but which the former, at least, as well as myself, long ago saw good cause to change. How can the Banks Louisiana government be supported by such poor logic as this ?"

### *PROGRESS IN THE WEST.*

WE are able to publish the following interesting extract from a recent letter from one of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society at the West :

"You would have praised God as I did when, in Detroit, the venerable Rev. Dr. Duffield called on me, and taking my hand in his, said, 'God be with you ! I am glad you have come ! You must speak in the Young Men's Hall, the largest in the the city.' It was wonderful, remembering how he had stood aloof and in opposition to the Anti-Slavery movement during his long life of influence and eminence in the Presbyterian Church in Michigan, to see him now so melted into sympathy and love with the holy cause of Freedom. In the kindest manner he entered into the arrangements for the meeting, urging it should be held by all means on Wednesday evening, the day

*THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING*
OF THE
## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*(Continued from last week.)*

Mr. May—I object to that reference. I do not see why we should refer this resolution to the Executive Committee any more than the one in regard to Mr. Garrison. It is essentially a question for the Society, as a Society, to pronounce upon. The members of the Society, who may be supposed to be, all of them, readers of The Standard, and its supporters to the extent of their ability (they ought to be, certainly); know what its character has been for twenty-five years past, and during the period of the war. The strong support afforded to The Standard by its subscribers, and all the knowledge I have of their sentiments, and of the sentiments of the members of this Society, lead me to believe that the most cordial endorsement and approbation will be given to The Standard and to its management in regard to the interests of the anti-slavery cause, during the very trying times of the past four years. Of course, there are none at this late day who will differ in regard to the conduct of The Standard under the administration of Nathaniel P. Rogers, of Mr. and Mrs. Child, of Mr. Gay, and others, who have been in its editorial chair. I do, for one, solemnly believe that it is the duty of this Society, and that it is their pleasure, to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of the retiring editors of The Standard, as much as it was to acknowledge the fidelity of the services of our late President. They have faithfully represented the views of Abolitionists, according to their best light, and according to their own understanding of the purposes and instructions of this Society. I believe they have not swerved a hair's-breadth from the instructions given them by this Society; that they have endeavored to understand them, and have endeavored to carry them out to the best of their ability. Are there any here who say "No" to that? If so, here is the opportunity. I wish to record my vote as thanking these gentlemen and their colleagues for the faithful and generous and able services they have rendered to this Society, and the cause it represents. I hope, therefore, the resolution will not be referred to the Executive Committee. It is emphatically a question for the Society to decide.

Mr. Foster—It will be apparent to the audience that there is no analogy between this case and that of the President of the Society. The President was elected by the Society, responsible to it, and to no one else. The editors of the Standard were appointed by the Executive Committee, and within the last six months, I think, they have appealed to the Executive Committee as the body to whom they are responsible. They have not resigned their offices to this Society; we do not know but they have decided to go on, in view of the unanimity with which the Society has voted to continue. I prefer to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Executive Committee, who, when they resign, will pay them such a tribute of respect and gratitude, in behalf of the Abolitionists of the country, as in their judgment they are entitled to. If this resolution were a mere vote of thanks to these gentlemen, I could most heartily give it my support, but, with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Pillsbury, I dissent from the course of the Standard. I was in favor of the Cleveland Convention, which declared a year ago that there was not a slave on the American soil; and I gave it my hearty support. The Standard opposed it, and fought the only man who stood before the country as a Radical Abolitionist, and took President Lincoln, who lived and died the President of a slaveholding nation. Now, while I differ from the editors of the Standard entirely in regard to the propriety of their course, I have the utmost confidence in the fidelity of those gentlemen to their convictions. The case is one for argument, not for censure.

Marius Robinson—I wish, with Mr. May, to give expression to a feeling in regard to the editors of the Standard, that shall be in harmony with that expressed for the retiring President. I hope that, in some shape, we shall have such a resolution, and one that will come spontaneously from this meeting, as the preceding one did.

The question was then taken on the motion to refer the resolution to the Executive Committee, and it was carried by a vote of 24 to 23.

Mr. Pillsbury offered the following series of resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the thanks of this Society, and of the whole country, are eminently due to Hon. Charles Sumner for his untiring energy and perseverance in preventing the readmission of Louisiana into the Union, under a Constitution which excludes from suffrage and citizenship all her colored population, whose loyalty is above all suspicion, and whose peerless valor saved that State, and indeed the whole Mississippi Valley, from becoming the prey of secession and rebellion.

2. Resolved, That of all the work committed to our hands, we will count none more important than the education of the nation before the next session of Congress, into the idea that color or race is no test of fitness for citizenship; and that no democracy is genuine, or can stand the ordeals of the nineteenth century, which is not based on justice and the cheerful consent of all the governed.

3. Resolved, That the objects of this Society, as announced in its Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments, are "*The entire abolition of slavery in the United States*"; *and the elevation of "all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others"*: and while we joyfully welcome and will heartily co-operate with every new auxiliary in this vast field of action and effort, under whatever name, we can never lay down our own distinctive apostleship until all these high purposes are fully accomplished.

4. Resolved, That the terrible mistake of our Revolutionary fathers in permitting slavery in constructing the government, would be more than paralleled in a Reconstruction which should proscribe from equal citizenship a large proportion of the population in the revolted States, on account of their complexion and race, while their loyalty is above all question, and their manhood and bravery have been well attested on a hundred battle-fields—and if the ravages of the present war are only a just penalty for the slavery of almost a hundred years ago, there could be no hope of any permanent peace or lasting nationality after such a visitation, which should be founded on persistent injustice and cruelty.

The question was taken on the first resolution, and it was adopted unanimously.

Dr. Snodgrass moved to amend the second resolution by adding as follows: "And that Congress be urged to recommend the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment forbidding any State to make any distinctions among persons born on her soil, of parents permanently resident there, in relation to civil rights, on account of race, color, or descent."

Dr. Snodgrass—It has been said here to-day that Judge Bond, whom I respect very highly, declared himself frankly against the idea of giving the suffrage to the colored people of Maryland. The Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland has not made up his mind on the subject. He thinks the time has not yet come. Now, what pertains to my adopted State, Maryland, pertains also to many other States in the South; and I want to say to you, that if I wanted to describe the spirit of slaveholding caste, from which I came—for I had the misfortune to be born a slaveholder—I should just paraphrase the song of that glorious man, John Brown, who did a glorious work in my native State, Virginia, in this wise—

"The body of slavery lies mouldering in the ground,
Its *soul* goes marching on."

You have got a harder fight before you than you have ever had, and, for the first time, I am tempted to ask if you will not allow me to subscribe to your Constitution, and vote. I have been tempted to join you now more than ever, because I think you are going into a harder fight than you have ever had before. I speak as a Southern-raised man, who had the misfortune for a time to be a slaveholder, by inheritance, and all of whose kindred in Virginia and Kentucky are slaveholders—who is in communication with them—who knows the spirit of slavery, and who knows, therefore, from his observation and experience, and from conversation with his friends, that the fight is far from being over, and is becoming intensified, more than some of you, perhaps, have ever dreamed. That is the state of the case, and therefore I wish you to strike a direct blow by a resolution of that kind, and to say to Congress, as you have been accustomed to say, in the language of demand, "We demand that there shall be such a clause introduced into the Constitution as will make it hereafter impossible that there shall be any State regulation or arrangement denying the right of the ballot to any of God's children."

At this point the discussion on the resolutions was suspended, to take up the question of "material aid," and a Committee on Finance was appointed, as follows: Wm. A. Hovey, Caroline A. Putnam, Maria S. Page and Abby Kelley Foster.

Mrs. Foster—I hope there will be a generous contribution, not merely of money to pay the expenses of the present meeting, but of means to carry on the operations of the Society. I suppose all of us who have not thought it expedient to dissolve the Society at this time, are influenced by the consideration, that as "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," we should be always on the watch-tower, and that now any neglect may jeopard the interests of the slave, and of course of the country and the world, for generations to come. Knowing something of the views and sentiments of the Executive Committee that has recently been elected, I am confident that they will leave no single stone unturned, that they will leave no measure untried, to educate the public mind up to the point that shall not only secure the proper legal guarantees of the black man's rights, but shall support those guarantees by a public sentiment that shall make them them effective. In order to do this, we are all of us well aware that the public sentiment must receive a deep and radical regeneration; and in order that that may be effected, mass meetings and conventions must be held, publications must be circulated, and all the various agencies for influencing the public mind put into requisition; and in order that that may be done, we must have large contributions. I feel, as an Abolitionist, that I have no time, no means, and no right to do anything except to drive forward the main question. The whole community is ready to engage in the work of aiding the freedman. There are hundreds in the city in which I live who would give hundreds of dollars in charity to the freedmen, who yet would put forth every effort to prevent his having the elective franchise. It is therefore for those of us who feel that by giving the franchise to the black man, we destroy the necessity for any charity beyond the immediate present, to use our entire energies in that direction.

I hope, therefore, that every Abolitionist will consecrate himself, or herself, anew to this special work, remembering that outsiders, those who will not come up to our platform, who will not come up because they do not see, in many instances, that the right way is the safe way—do not see that to give rights is to avoid the necessity for charity—will do the work for the freedmen. I trust, therefore, that our pledges, instead of being what they have been heretofore, will be doubled, trebled and quadrupled, and that, instead of our lacking the means of carrying on a vigorous warfare, we shall have a superabundance of means, so that we shall be able to prosecute any measure that may be proposed, with vigor. I hope that, through these efforts, we shall see the public sentiment, in six months, raised to such a point that the freedman's rights will be secured.

Mr. Irish, of Pittsburg—I desire to say that I had the pleasure of attending a meeting this morning, at which Judge Bond presided, composed of delegates from Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Pittsburg, where resolutions were unanimously adopted approving of the immediate extension of the rights of citizenship, including the right to the ballot, to the colored people of the South—as due to them for their past services to the country, and as the only safe and sure method of reconstruction (applause).

Mr. May—I heard the same thing last night, and testified to the same effect here on the platform; but it seemed to fall on a good many unbelieving ears.

The President—I am exceedingly glad to hear the statement, and I will venture to make upon that text this single remark—that it is only another instance of the value of this organization and similar efforts. I had the pleasure of sitting, not more than five months ago, in the company of Judge Bond and some eleven or twelve of the active and patriotic young emancipationists of Baltimore, when it was the unanimous opinion of the whole body, that it was an impracticable thing for any man in Maryland to start, at that moment, the idea of suffrage; that whatever might be their private opinions upon the question, they were not at liberty to express any opinion upon it. I think the fact that the impediment has been lifted from their lips, so that they are willing publicly to espouse an effort in that direction, is solely because men more favorably placed than themselves have kept up the agitation, outside of Maryland, which has at last opened their lips.

Mr. May—I think as much of the past history of the American Anti-Slavery Society as any one can; but can any man come upon this platform and say that anything that this Society has done within the last six months has influenced the minds of those gentlemen? I cannot. No, sir; it is due to the personal labors of such men as Charles Sumner; of such men as Wendell Phillips, who, for a few years past, has acted quite as much with other societies as with this, for anti-slavery purposes; of such men as the editor of the *Independent*; and to the efforts of newspapers all over the country, who see the moral, political, and social necessity of doing justice to the negro. It is to these men that we owe the advance that has been made, in part; and still more to that march of events, which, in the mighty providence of God, has been warning this people not to trust the Slave Power anywhere. The blow which struck down the lamented head of this Republic, taught the North, not how far they can trust the Slave Power, but that they cannot trust it one hair's-breadth, nor dally with it a moment; and it is not, in my judgment, for this Society to gather up to itself the credit of the advance that has been made.

The consideration of Mr. Pillsbury's resolution was here resumed.

Mr. Pillsbury—I have not obtruded myself upon this meeting with any remarks, and it is altogether too late for me to do so now. But it seems to me that something should be said that has not yet been said, and that I fear I shall not be able to say under these unfavorable circumstances. I agreed with my excellent friend Mr. Garrison that this Society had been dead for the last four years; but it seemed to me a most humiliating confession to make, and I thought that—although he said this was no time for a funeral—if the Society had been dead four years, it was about time that it were buried. It has been inactive, at least; I trust, however, it only slept, and that to-day a voice has been uttered that will be effective, saying, "Lazarus, come forth!"

Four years ago, it was announced on our platform that slavery was dead: that anti-slavery efforts were no longer needed; that Gen. Scott was in the place of my excellent friend, Mr. May, as General Agent, and the American army was the American Anti-Slavery Society. That Anti-Slavery Society prosecuted its conflict with such success and such disasters as we know, and the war "dragged its slow length along" through four dreary and desolating years, and slavery was yet able to compete with the mightiest armies that were ever gathered in the field of fight; for though we began with 75,000 men for three months, before those three months had expired, we had summoned half a million of men for three years; and before four years had expired, our armies had been increased to millions, and nearly half of them slept the sleep that knows no waking. Last month, we were awakened early one Monday morning to celebrate what we deemed to be the triumph of the Northern hosts, and the vanquishing of every foe. Richmond had surrendered, Gen. Lee was a captive, his army were prisoners; and we fancied that then indeed our work was done. There lay the monster quivering on the ground; his head cut off, and all his bowels seemed gushing out; and the nation went into a joy unknown before, perhaps, among mortal men. That week was one of jubilation, of unmingled joy. We fancied the monster was dead, our work done and well done, and the work of reconstruction well under way. The President had made that last speech of his on the subject, and the press of the country had given in its adhesion to his doctrine. I remember that on the Fast day in Massachusetts, I was invited to occupy the pulpit of the gentleman who addressed you this morning [Rev. Mr. Spaulding, of Salem,] of whom I want to say, that although pastor of one of the largest churches in Mass., he has been so faithful in his own pulpit as to have driven what is known as the Copperhead element pretty much entirely out of his congregation, and he dared, also, to invite me to deliver the Fast Day discourse in that church (applause). Occupying his pulpit, I thought I would assume the prerogative of the minister. So I selected a text from the Hebrew prophets; and the words were these (for I intended to speak of the continued goodness and compassion of God to this nation), "What could I have done more for my vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?" And in the course of my remarks, I referred to that speech of the President, and said that it seemed to me highly proper that we should observe the day as a day of fasting and prayer, for we had to deal with a monster, which, although we fancied he was dead, and were celebrating our triumph, was one that, after all, went not out but by prayer and fasting. In the afternoon, I went into the Athenæum in that city, and I read every daily newspaper of New York and Boston on the President's speech; and every one of those papers, without a solitary exception, endorsed its doctrine. I had a lecture appointed for that evening, and I went to it with a heavy heart, for I felt that I must tell the audience that their joy was vain; that their rejoicing must be turned, I was sure, into mourning; for in that hour of triumph and of victory, as we thought, we were forgetting to do justice, and were ready to construct the government on the basis of white suffrage—and that, also, disloyal—rejecting the bravery and loyalty that God had made the salvation of the country. I went to my lecture, as I said, with a heavy heart. I told the audience we were lost. I said, "You have called me 'blue,' and 'blue-black,' and 'bilious,' and I know not what, from the beginning of the war, but we are inevitably lost, for God has visited us in judgment, and in the last hour, when he seems to have left nothing undone that he could do to his vineyard, we still forget justice and judgment—none calling for justice, and none in the government pleading the cause of the poor." It was a sad meeting, and well it might be. It was continued until a late hour at night, and a sadder audience I never addressed; and a sadder heart, in the midst of all that week of joy, I trust could not be found, than was mine. But twenty-four hours after that meeting, God did appear in his most mysterious providence, and showed that there was at least one thing more that he could do for his vineyard that he had not done in it. The solemn drapery that darkens this house to day answers the question, "What more could I have done for my vineyard that I have not done in it?" And thus we ended that week of joy. I thought of the two lines of Byron, in his eulogy on Bonaparte, when he spoke of his greatness and his fall—

"Who would climb the solar height,
To set in such a starless night?"

Yes, Mr. Chairman, it was indeed a sad week. Our enemy was not slain; for while we exulted over his fall, and triumphed in, as we thought, his dire extremity, behold the quivering monster gathered up vitality enough to swing around his envenomed tail, and sting our noble Chief Magistrate to death before our very eyeballs! I felt then there was work for me to do; and I have felt during this meeting there was work yet to be done; and I thought if our good old apostleship was to be sacrificed here, it was well that we had the drapery of death hanging around; but it seems to me that such a deed would far better become Ford's theatre, than the Church of the Puritans. No, Mr. Chairman, our work is not done; at least, *my* work is not done; nor will my work be done until the blackest man has at least all the rights which I myself enjoy. I cannot prove that I "love my neighbor as myself" until he stands by my side; and I honor our noble friend, Senator Wilson, for standing here to day and asserting it as the purpose of his life, to labor, whether in public or in private, for the achievement of that noble and glorious result. And I tell you, my friends, when slavery is abolished, we shall all know it, for it will be as if Death and Hell gave up the ghost. When we comprehend the malignity of the monster, and the power and tenacity of existence which he has acquired, we shall realize that our work is no pastime, no child's-play; and that however Freedmen's Associations and Christian Associations may operate in their fields, they will every one of them need the old polar star to guide them in their dangerous navigation (applause).

The question was then taken on the motion of Dr. Snodgrass to amend Mr. Pillsbury's resolution, and the amendment carried; in which form the resolution passed. The third resolution of the series was also passed.

Dr. Snodgrass—I would like to inquire whether any alteration is required in the Constitution of the Society, to conform to the new condition of things? It is a question with a great many people who would like to be with you, but who do not feel called upon to give up their right to vote.

Mr. Foster—The Society has never made non-voting a test of membership. I suppose this body would approve of Mr. Bowditch's taking the oath to support the Constitution, he believing that that compromised no anti-slavery principle, and that he could do it with perfect fidelity to the slave's cause. It would also approve the course of Mr. Phillips, in still declining to take the oath. It only asks every man to be true to his own convictions, and it allows liberty of speech, each to criticize the other.

Dr. Snodgrass—Yes, I have discovered that (laughter).

The President—I might add, that one of our Vice-Presidents is Gerrit Smith, who does not believe there is any slavery in the Constitution whatever. We are a mixed body.

Rev. Mr. Trevellin, Agent of the Western Pennsylvania Freedman's Association.—I was at your meeting yesterday, and I thank God that I have had the opportunity of attending these meetings. I only want to say, in regard to the matter under discussion, that your work is not done. When I heard, at my home, that you were going to disband the Society, I was amazed. I heard it said that for some reason or other you were going to disband, in order to organize something better. I did not understand it. I have only to say, that you have great reason to be thankful that the people have come up to your stand-point. If they will only give the negro the ballot, I do not care what becomes of the Freedmen's Associations. Give the blacks the ballot, and let the nation take its heel off their necks, and they will take care of themselves. That, I think, is the true doctrine.

The fourth and last resolution in Mr. Pillsbury's series was then adopted.

Mr. J. K. H. Willcox, of Staten Island, spoke very briefly in deprecation of the idea, that this was a new organization. He maintained that it was a continuance of the old organization, framed thirty odd years ago—the old American Anti-Slavery Society.

Wm. A. Hovey, from the Finance Committee, reported that they had received $111.13 in cash, and in pledges, $534.00. The report was accepted.

Mary Grew presented the following communication from the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

At a stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held April 13th, 1865, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted; and the President and Corresponding Secretary were directed to present them to the American Anti-Slavery Society at its next annual meeting.

Resolved, That in the grand and marvellous events which are thrilling the hearts of this nation, we see the hand of God leading the American slaves, step by step, from their long and cruel bondage up to freedom and victory over their oppressors; that we see also the beginning of a new and glorious era, in which the principles of Liberty, Justice, and Democracy, so long and loudly professed, shall be nobly illustrated in our national life; and that we devoutly thank Him in whose name and whose strength we have labored, that the Anti-Slavery enterprise has culminated in glorious success; and that the hour when we may, in triumphant joy and profound gratitude, disband this Association is evidently very near at hand.

Resolved, That while we await only the announcement that American slavery is abolished by the Constitutional law of the land, we reassert our conviction that justice to the emancipated slave, and the safety of the nation, require that the States which have rebelled against the government, in the interests of slavery, shall be permitted to return only upon the condition that, under their State Constitutions, citizenship shall be conferred on black and white men equally.

Guilielma M. Jones, Sec.

On motion, it was voted that the communication be entered upon the records of the meeting.

On motion of Mr. Pillsbury, the Society then adjourned, *sine die*—having been in continuous session nearly eight hours.

### PLEDGES

*Made to the American Anti-Slavery Society, Evening of May 12th, 1865, at Cooper Institute.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lindlow Patton, | $200 00 | John Sealy, | $5 00 |
| I. D. Yates, | 5 00 | I. S. Tompkins, | 1 00 |
| Jas. K. Place, | 50 00 | I. S. Schultz, | 100 00 |
| H. L. Mack, | 25 00 | Mrs. C. M. Severance, | 10 00 |
| Dr. I. P. Munn, | 20 00 | I. C. Ferguson, | 10 00 |
| A. C. Swain, | 5 00 | Geo. W. Rint, | 25 00 |
| H. Beeny Cass, | 5 00 | C. Griffith, | 5 00 |
| Mrs. Alexander, | 5 00 | I. T. White, | 10 00 |
| M. H. Anderson, | 1 00 | Miss Anna Dickinson, | 100 00 |
| L. Francis, | 25 00 | Geo. L. Stearns, | 100 00 |
| Jas. Williams, | 5 00 | John Williams, | 5 00 |
| Total of Pledges May 12th, | 717 00 | Total, | $681 41 |
| Total money received " | 164 41 | | |

*Additional pledges—sent by Mrs. A. K. Foster.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Savilian Haley, New York (in addition to first pledge, see report of Finance Committee), | $5 00 |
| Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass. | 20 00 |
| Miss Mary F. Richmond, pd. her pledge, | 5 00 |
| Miss G. E. Watson, " " " | 1 00 |

*PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO THE NEGROES.*

We have seen no other report of the address of President Johnson to a colored delegation, which called on him May 11th, than the following, taken from the Washington dispatches of the *Herald*. The President may or may not have expressed himself in the language here given, but nothing has since appeared to contradict this representation, so we give it as it was first published—remarking only that we hope it is not necessary to infer that the President is a colonizationist, because of a single expression looking to the expatriation of the negroes in a certain contingency:

President Johnson to-day gave an audience to a number of colored men. They were introduced by the Rev. E. Turner, D.D., the President of the National Theological Institute for Colored Ministers, the centre of whose operations is the city of Washington. He said, in the course of his address, that some of them were members of the Institute and pastors of churches, while others had been preaching to their own people in different sections of Virginia, coming in contact probably with a colored population of not less than two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand souls, thus exerting a healthful influence on their social and moral condition. He gave to the President a copy of the resolutions passed by them with reference to the assassination of President Lincoln, and expressive of their gratitude for the Emancipation proclamation and their loyalty to the constituted authorities, etc.

President Johnson, in response, remarked that it was scarcely necessary for him to repeat what his course had been in relation to the colored man, as everybody within the reach of information had already been made acquainted with it. It was known that he was born and raised in a slave State, and had owned slaves. Yet he had never sold one, and they had all gone free. There was a difference in the responsibility which persons residing in the slave States had to take on the subject of emancipation from those who reside out of them. It was very easy for men who lived beyond their borders to get up sympathy and talk about the condition of colored persons, when they knew nothing about it. Their great sympathy was not reduced to practice. It was known that there were men in the South, notwithstanding the two classes once occupied the positions of master and servant, who felt a deep interest in their welfare, and who did much to ameliorate the condition of the colored men. He repeated, it would be unnecessary for him to make a speech on the subject of emancipation, for which he had met with taunts, and frowns, and jibes, and incurred all the dangers to property, life and limb. He claimed no merit for this, because he was only carrying out the principle he always maintained, namely, that man could not hold property in man. And he was the first who stood in a slave community and announced the fact that the slaves of the State of Tennessee had as much right to be free as those who claimed them as their property. When the tyrant's rod is bent and the yoke broken, the passing from one extreme to the other—from bondage to freedom—is difficult; and in this transition state some think they have nothing to do but fall back on the government for support, in order that they may be taken care of in idleness and debauchery. There was one idea which those whom he addressed ought to inculcate, namely, that freedom simply means liberty to work and enjoy the product of a man's own toil, and how much he may put into his stomach and on his back. He meant this in its most extensive sense. Gentlemen in Congress, and the people of the North and South, talk about Brigham Young and debauchery of various kinds existing among the Mormons; but it was known that four millions of people within the limits of the South have always been in open and notorious concubinage. The correction of these things is necessary in commencing a reform in social conditions, and in this there must be the force of example. He would do all in his power to secure their protection and to ameliorate their condition. He trusted in God that the time may come when all the colored people would be gathered together in one country best adapted to their condition, if it should appear they could not get along together with the whites. He expressed hopes that the efforts for their social and moral improvement would be successful, and in this he promised his cooperation, and in conclusion thanked his audience for their manifestations of kindness and the evidences of their friendship.

*THE TRIAL OF THE ASSASSINS.*

The Military Commission convened in Washington for the trial of the assassins has been in session about two weeks, and the evidence for the government is nearly all in. The following is a summary of the most important testimony, except that which it has been deemed prudent to withhold from the public. We condense a dispatch to the N. Y. *Times*:

First in order of certainty of facts adduced, is that Lewis Payne is shown to have been the confederate of Booth, and guilty of an assault with intent to kill Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Frederick W. Seward, Augustus H. Seward, Emerick W. Hansell, and George F. Robinson. The antecedents of this prisoner are notknown; and the first heard of him so far as the proofs go, is his appearance at the residence of Mrs. Surratt in the early part of March last, when he stated that his name was Wood. Payne put up two or three days at Surratt's, where John H. Surratt, Atzeroth, and Booth and himself had secret consultations. On his second visit, Payne represented to some of the inmates that he was a Baptist preacher. He and Surratt were found at one time in the bed-room playing with bowie-knives. In this room were two revolvers and four sets of spurs of the same kind as the spur and revolver found in Atzeroth's room at the Kirkwood House. The proof of his confederating with Booth and his accomplices is beyond a doubt. That it was Payne who made the assault upon Mr. Seward, and the others injured in the Secretary's house, is as certain as human testimony can establish any fact.

Equally certain is the evidence that Herrold was Booth's accessory before and after the fact. He is first found in confidential relations with the assassin in the early part of February, and he is several times discovered in secret meetings with Booth, Atzeroth, and others of the conspiracy. He is once found at Mrs. Surratt's in company with them. With Surratt and Atzeroth he called at the tavern in Surrattsville and left the two carbines, ammunition, etc., which were taken away from that place by him and Booth on the night of the assassination. During their flight he acknowledges to Confederate soldiers that he and Booth are the assassins of the President, and he is captured in the barn with Booth, as has been fully detailed heretofore. There is no doubt whatever of his guilt, and he will suffer the penalty of his crime, as it shall be defined by the commission.

Atzeroth, like the last named prisoner, is proven to have been a conspirator, and makes his first appearance at Mrs. Surratt's in the early part of February, inquiring for John H. Surratt or Mrs. Surratt, and is frequently found in secret communication with Booth and his confederates. To him was assigned the murder of President Johnson at the Kirkwood House; but, notwithstanding it appears there was no obstacle in the way of its performance, he does not seem to have made any effort to get access to his intended victim on the evening of the 14th of April. On the morning of that day, he took a room at Kirkwood's, where Mr. Johnson was putting up, and was seen there at noon and about six o'clock in the evening. He was traced there on horseback, but was not apparently about the house after that hour. He proved false to his confederates, no doubt. Such would but be in keeping with his character. He was in active cooperation with them, however, throughout the night, and fled at daylight the next morning. Of his guilt there is not a shadow of a doubt.

Mrs. Surratt appears to have been cognizant of the intended crime almost from its inception, and became an active participant in overt acts. She was a general manager; she received and entertained at her house all the criminals except Dr. Mudd, O'Laughlin, and Arnold. With Dr. M. she planned the means and assistance for the escape of the assassins. She visited Mudd at 5 o'clock on the day of the assassination, to see that the carbines, etc., should be in readiness, and informed him that they would be called for that night. Booth frequently called at her house and held long confidential talks with her. He was with her a few minutes on the afternoon of the 14th. As an accomplice of Booth and a participant in his crime, she cannot escape the penalty of the law.

Dr. Mudd's status is identical. As early as November last he is shown to have been in the confidence of Booth. He has a suspicious meeting with Surratt and Booth at the National Hotel in January. He introduces Booth to Surratt. Booth visits him at his room in the Pennsylvania House. The assassins fly to his house direct after committing the murder. He dresses Booth's wound and assists the escape of the latter and Herrold, and when called upon by the officers three days afterward, denies that he knows either of the criminals. When arrested, on the Friday following, he prevaricates, lies outright, and finally admits he knew Booth. He says he first heard of the assassination on Sunday after it was committed, at church, and yet it is shown by abundant proof that he was in Bryantown on the day preceding, Saturday, at an hour when the populace was all excitement, the town guarded by and full of soldiers, and every man, woman and child in the place had not only heard of the murder, but knew the name of the assassin.

Spangler does not appear to have been in the conspiracy, according to the proofs, at an earlier period than a few hours before the commission of the crime. If he be guilty, his participation would appear to have been in preparing the means of escape, by keeping the passage-way clear on the stage, and by closing the door after Booth had passed through, so as to retard the movements of pursuers. Some proof has been offered to connect him with the preparation of the bar which fastened the door leading to the President's box, but the evidence is vague and uncertain. That he knew the purpose of Booth, and that he promised a few minutes before the murder to help the assassin, is as clearly shown by circumstances and testimony as any fact in the case.

To O'Laughlin appears to have been assigned the murder of Gen. Grant, but whether he failed to make the attempt from lack of courage, from disinclination, or from failure of opportunity, does not appear. Gen. Grant was announced to appear at the theatre, but suddenly and unexpectedly took the cars for Philadelphia. Atzeroth made the remark the next day, when it was reported that Gen. Grant had been shot, that "probably it is the fact, if he was followed by the man that was to do it."

O'Laughlin is clearly shown to have been in some kind of conspiracy with Booth, as has been stated before. He was found lurking in the hall of Secretary Stanton's house on the night of the thirteenth of April, evidently watching the movements of Gen. Grant. Whether he backed out of the conspiracy on Friday, the day of the assassination, or not, is not clear.

Arnold, as has been stated, was in full communion with the conspirators, but it is claimed by his attorney that the proofs show that the plot was formerly to abduct the President, and that Arnold and Booth quarrelled, and the former withdrew from the conspiracy and went to Fortress Monroe, where he was prior to and on the 14th of April.

*GEN. SCHOFIELD'S NEW ORDER.*

Gen. Schofield's bad eminence in the civil administration of Missouri is painfully called to mind by the following order just issued in North Carolina. What could be worse than to put aged and infirm freedmen and those less than twenty-one under the "guardianship" of their former masters?

Hdqrs. Dept. of N. Carolina, Army of the Ohio, Raleigh, N. C., May 15, 1865.

General Orders, No. 46.—The following rules are published for the government of freedmen in North Carolina, until the restoration of civil government in the State:

I. The common laws governing the domestic relations, such as those giving parents authority and control over their children, and guardians control over their wards, are in force. The parent's or guardian's authority and obligations takes the place of those of the former master.

II. The former masters are constituted the guardians of minors and of the aged and infirm, in the absence of parents or other near relatives capable of supporting them.

III. Young men and women under twenty-one years of age remain under the control of their parents or guardians until they become of age, thus aiding to support their parents and younger brothers and sisters.

IV. The former masters of freedmen may not turn away the young or the infirm, nor refuse to give them food and shelter; nor may the able-bodied men or women go away from their homes, or live in idleness, and leave their parents, children, or young brothers and sisters to be supported by others.

V. Persons of age, who are free from any of the obligations referred to above, are at liberty to find new homes wherever they can obtain proper employment; but they will not be supported by the government, nor by their former masters, unless they work.

VI. It will be left to the employer and servant to agree upon the wages to be paid; but freedmen are advised that for the present season they ought to expect only moderate wages, and where their employers cannot pay them money, they ought to be contented with a fair share in the crops to be raised. They have gained their personal freedom. By industry and good conduct they may rise to independence and even wealth.

VII. All officers, soldiers, and citizens are requested to give publicity to these rules, and to instruct the freed people as to their new rights and obligations.

VIII. All officers of the army, and of the county police companies, are authorized and required to correct any violation of the above rules within their jurisdiction.

IX. Each District Commander will appoint a Superintendent of Freedmen (a commissioned officer), with such number of assistants (officers and non-commissioned officers) as may be necessary, whose duty it will be to take charge of all the freed people in his District who are without homes or proper employment. The Superintendents will send back to their homes all who have left them in violation of the above rules, and will endeavor to find homes and suitable employment for all others. They will provide suitable camps or quarters for such as cannot be otherwise provided for, and attend to their discipline, police, subsistence, etc.

X. The Superintendents will hear all complaints of guardians or wards, and report the facts to their District Commanders, who are authorized to dissolve the existing relations of guardian and ward in any case which may seem to require it, and to direct the Superintendent to otherwise provide for the wards, in accordance with the above rules.

By command of Major-Gen. Schofield.
J. A. Campbell, A. A. G.
Frederick Anderson, Lieut. A. A. A. G.

# Chronicles of the War.

## Latest News in Brief.

THE CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The late President of the late Confederacy is safely locked up in Fortress Monroe. He was surprised in his camp by Col. Pritchard of the 4th Michigan Cavalry, near Irwinsville, Ga., on the morning of May 10, and attempted to escape in the disguise of an old woman. His wife arrayed him in her own dress, put on him her hood, and tied a scarf about his head so as to conceal his face completely. Thus disguised, Mrs. Davis took hold of one of his arms, and her sister of the other; and then apparently supporting the tottering steps of an old woman, they walked away from the camp toward a neighboring swamp. Four men of Col. Pritchard's cavalry, however, stopped the trio, and began to ask questions. Mrs. Davis, who seems to have been devoted in her efforts to get her husband away safely, besought the soldiers to "allow her poor old mother to pass." The soldiers replied that it couldn't be done without an examination; "Jeff. Davis was around there somewhere, and they meant to have him!" And have him they did. One of them poked about the feet of the pseudo-grand-dame with his sabre till he discovered a big pair of cavalry boots; and another pulled off the hood, when Jefferson Davis stood revealed in a choice and elegant costume of frock, pantaloons, boots, and beard. He was brought to terms when a Spencer rifle was pointed at him. The soldier who detected Jeff's disguise immediately went to searching him to see what valuables he could find on his person, and, besides an amount of specie, found a fine silver-mounted revolver, a present from a London manufacturing company. While he was searching, Private Secretary Harrison came up, and in a very indignant tone said, "Ain't you ashamed to treat our *President* so?" "President," said the soldier, "what's he President of?"

He was taken to Macon and thence sent to Gen. Wilson—to whose skilful dispositions as well as to Col. Pritchard's energetic pursuit, the capture is due—to Augusta, thence down the river to Savannah, and thence in the steamer Clyde to Fortress Monroe. Of his appearance on the steamer a correspondent says:

"Jefferson Davis looks careworn and dejected. None shook his hand; but some of the visitors, desiring to hear him talk, commenced conversation with him upon ordinary topics—the weather, etc., etc. It was noticed, in all his conversations, that his eyes were constantly towards the floor, as though the eye of a Yankee was not pleasant and agreeable to meet. He is dressed in a fine grey suit, and wears a drab soft hat. The last four years have added apparently more than ten to his age."

Alex. H. Stephens, late rebel Vice-President, is also taken and was brought on in the same steamer together, with the rebel Cavalry General Wheeler, Clement C. Clay, Jr., one of the parties charged with complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, Mrs. Davis and her two children, her sister, Col. Lubbock, of Texas, ex-rebel Postmaster-General Reagan, and a small bodyguard. Most of Davis's cavalry escort had been dismissed, and it is said he divided his stolen specie among them. Clay, for whose arrest $25,000 reward had been offered, gave himself up to Gen. Wilson at Macon, writing a letter to assert his innocence of the crime imputed to him. The party reached Fortres Monroe last Friday, and were transferred on Monday to their cells in the Fort, the women excepted, who, it is supposed are to be sent South.

THE CLOSING UP OF THE WAR.

Dick Taylor has surrendered all his forces to Gen. Canby, on terms similar to those conceded by Grant to Lee, except than the honor of retaining their side-arms is denied to the officers. There is no organized force of rebels east of the Mississippi. Even the cavalry leader Forrest, the Butcher of Fort Pillow, has surrendered his command, and has issued an order advising his men to submit to the government and the laws.

Gov. Brown, of Georgia, was captured a few days ago, and Gov. Vance, of North Carolina, was taken at the house of his father-in-law, in Buncombe County, N. C., on the 12th inst. Both were taken to Washington, and are now confined in the Old Capitol Prison. Gen. Gideon J. Pillow was captured near Selma. He was afraid to go home on account of the guerillas. Gen. Kirby Smith is reported to have been shot in a quarrel about a cotton speculation. There has been no surrender of forces west of the Mississippi, and Gen. Sheridan has gone to Texas to take command of our armies and destroy the remnant of the rebellion still lingering in that State and Louisiana. Gallant Phil will make short work of it.

PROCLAMATION.

The President has issued a proclamation opening to foreign commerce after July 1st the ports heretofore blockaded, except the ports of Galveston, La Salle, Brazos de Santiago, Point Isabel, and Brownsville, in the State of Texas: subject to such regulations as may be prescribed.

The proclamation concludes with the following important provisions:

I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby declare and make known that the United States of America do henceforth disavow to all persons trading or attempting to trade in any port of the United States, in violation of the laws thereof, all pretence of belligerent rights and privileges; and I give notice, from the date of this proclamation, all such offenders will be held and dealt with as pirates. It is also ordered that all restrictions upon trade heretofore imposed in the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi river, save those relating to contraband of war, to the reservation of the rights of the United States, to property purchased in the territory of an enemy, and to the twenty-five per cent. upon purchases of cotton, are removed. All provisions of the Internal Revenue law will be carried into effect under the proper officer.

THE GRAND REVIEW.

The grand review of the armies of the Union under Gen. Grant took place on Tuesday and Wednesday at Washington. The cavalry of Sheridan, the army of the Potomac under Gen. Meade, and the armies of the Tennessee and of Georgia under Gen. Sherman, marched up Pennsylvania avenue and past the White House, at which point they were reviewed by the President and by Gen. Grant. The foreign ministers and many distinguished citizens were on the platform, and stagings had been erected for other spectators. The troops marched past

# Miscellaneous Department.

## POEM BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

WRITTEN ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY.

The thickening mists of fourscore years
In the air all round me swim;
Soft voices reach no more my ears,
And my vision grows more dim.

But the eyes of my mind are, as ever, clear,
And I see, upon Southern plains,
The slave roam where he wills; and I hear
The clank of his broken chains.

In my young manhood once I saw
A black-looking slave-ship moored
In Charleston port, under shield of law,
With a cargo of slaves on board—

Of black and naked men
Under that scorching sky,
With some red baize aprons, now and then,
Hung up in the shrouds to dry.

Thy name, O God! be praised,
That thine ear, that seemed so slow
To hear the voice that, in prayer, I raised
More than forty years ago,

That the gloomy cloud that hung,
With thunder in its breast,
O'er the sultry South, might not be flung
O'er the broad and breezy West;

The prayer that the sable hands
That lifted the heavy hoe,
In heavier chains, on the lands
Where the rice and the cotton grow,

Might all be raised, ere long,
In hearty thanks to thee,
And the feet then gyved might keep time to the song
And the tambourine of the free;

That prayer that upward went,
Along and in weakness there,
Hath spread and swelled till the firmament
Is filled with a loud "Amen."

For voices more full and strong,
And the souls of holier men,
Have framed the speech and poured the song
From a more melodious pen.

I need not write their names,
Nor envy them will I;
In their country's keeping, and in Fame's,
They will not, cannot die.

By the song, and the speech, and the prayer,
By the spirit of God inspired,
Has the lion Freedom been roused from his lair,
And the hearts of philanthropists fired.

And the ieiest statesman warmed,
And the soldier mounted his guns,
Till Slavery's battlements all are stormed
And shaken by Liberty's sons.

To my prayer that that gloomy cloud
Might darken no more our day,
Hath thine ear, O God! at last been bowed,
And in thunder it rolls away.

For the bristling bayonet
Is now in the hand of the thrall,
And the musket-breech to his shoulder is set,
And his prison-houses fall.

And now, on the very ground
Where I saw that slaver's hell,
The negro walks, as a guard, his round
By night, and cries: "All's well!"

On shore he steps out, a man,
From his shed, at his pleasure's beck;
And if his old master mutters a ban,
He can tread on the traitor's neck.

This, thy salvation's day,
For which thou'st suffered me
For forty years, O God! to pray,
Thou'st spared my life to see:

Now let thine angel's sword
Be sheathed, and carnage cease;
And let thine aged servant, Lord,
When called, depart in peace.

April 6th, 1865.

## NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

OPENING OF THE BUILDING.

The new building of the National Academy was formally opened on the evening of the 27th ultimo; and with this inauguration the institution may be fairly said to enter upon a new era of its existence. Hitherto, as the orator of the occasion remarked, the association has led a sort of nomadic life—pitching its tent here and there as circumstances permitted—but now it takes possession of a permanent and beautiful abode, and may reasonably be expected to assume the bearing and show the fruits of a higher state of civilization and culture.

This building, as our readers are perhaps aware, was erected, and the money contributed, in the midst of the gigantic burdens of the war, and certainly no more convincing proof could be given of the interest which the American people take in art.

The design of the building was furnished by Mr. P. B. Wright, and the work has been executed under his supervision. The site, which consists of an entire lot at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third st., was purchased in 1860, at a cost of fifty thousand dollars. The building is ninety-eight feet long on the avenue, and eighty feet wide on Twenty-third st., and when fully completed will cost, in the aggregate, one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. It is three stories high, besides the cellar. The basement story contains, on Twenty-third st., the janitor's apartments, and on the avenue, the rooms of the School of Design. The latter occupy about three-fourths of the whole area of this story, and furnish quite ample accommodations. The entrance to the School of Design is on the avenue. The collection of casts of ancient statuary is very large, embracing such works as the Laocoon, Apollo Belvidere, Venus de Medici, Silenus, and Bacchus, and many others equally valuable to the student in art. This department occupies three large alcoves, well lighted, and covering a space of forty-seven by sixty-eight feet. The alcoves are supported by tasteful columns, of a rich bronze tint, with golden-leaved capitals. The department of the Life School occupies a hall on the same floor, twenty-seven by fifty-four feet, fronting the North, and partially lighted from a court-yard. This room is not yet completed.

The entrance to the upper stories is on Twenty-third st., and consists of a double flight of marble steps, rising outside the building, and leading through a beautiful and spacious doorway, into the hall on the second floor. This hall is eighteen feet wide, and runs nearly the entire length of the building. East of the hall, and fronting on the avenue, are the reception-room, the two library rooms, and the council room. On the other side are two dressing-rooms for ladies and gentlemen, and a good sized lecture-room.

Rising from this hall, by a grand balustraded stairway, we ascend to the third story. We enter at first a sort of hall, thirty-four by forty feet, divided by a double arcade, resting on beautiful columns of various colored marble. Around the walls are hung a goodly number of pictures. From this hall there are entrances to the galleries which surround it on all sides. This story is devoted entirely to exhibition purposes. The galleries are all lighted by skylights, and for the present are sufficiently spacious, with the exception of the sculpture-room, which is only twenty-one feet square. The other four galleries are, severally, seventy-six by thirty, forty-six by twenty-two, forty by twenty, and thirty by twenty-one feet.

The structure, it appears, has been very solidly and faithfully built throughout. There is one exception, however, which, it is to be regretted, must be made. The roof, on account of the lack of funds, has not been built fire-proof; and the building and all its treasures are at the mercy of the conflagrations that may occur around it. The walls of the basement story are of Westchester County marble, banded with North river grauwacke; above, they are of white marble, with similar bands, and at the third story they are of white and gray marble, the latter color being arranged in diamond outlines, forming a sort of checkerwork. This work gives a peculiar, wavy appearance to its masonry, which no one who has seen the walls can fail to have noticed. Some are extravagant enough to think this a beauty. Although manifestly a defect, it is not a serious one. In the Doge's palace, in Venice, from which this building was modelled, this diamond work is on a much larger scale, and is made of a warm-tinted stone which does not cross the lines of masonry with so violent a contrast. In other words, its tone of color and luminosity being of about the same degree as that of the surrounding wall, the whole appears to the eye more nearly on the same plane.

The building, as we just stated, was modelled after the Doge's palace in Venice, and is of that mixed style of architecture, sometimes called Venetian Gothic. It is much smaller than the original, and the reduced proportions and strange surroundings into which it has been translated give but a poor idea of the grandeur and beauty of its prototype. The architecture of the building has, first and last, provoked a great deal of adverse criticism; and its advocates seem to have found but one impregnable position—and that is in its uniqueness.

The Academy has now a home peculiar to itself, which cannot by any possibility be mistaken for anything else in the country.

The committee could not hope to obtain anything more beautiful, rich, or grand, than had already been erected by wealthy corporations, commanding the best skill and taste in the world. The best they could do, therefore, was to get something as unique as possible—something that would remain a distinctive property of the academy, and not be degraded or vulgarized at once by a host of miserable imitators. In this respect, it must be confessed, the building is a capital success. But, on the other hand, as an exponent of the character and aims of American art, it is a decided failure; it expresses neither the commanding power of art nor its aspiration: it is simply a heap that hugs the ground with its spoil of pretty and petty ornamentation. However, with all its faults, it is exceedingly enjoyable, and both the public and the Academy are to be congratulated on possessing so commodious and creditable a structure.

The ceremonies of the inauguration, on Thursday evening, were very interesting and impressive. About two thousand invited guests were present, representing the first talent and beauty of the city. The galleries were brilliantly lighted up, the walls were hung with the pictures of the annual exhibition, of which this occasion served as a "private view," and everything conspired, in an unusual degree, to enhance the enjoyment of the lovers of art. Behind, the long vista of the past was rich with hard-earned triumphs, and before, the future shone gloriously with its boundless possibilities.

Soon after nine o'clock the inauguration ceremonies commenced with an appropriate prayer by Rev. Dr. Adams, after which the President of the Academy, Mr. D. Huntingdon, delivered an address, describing the origin of the Academy, its early struggles, and final success. The first movement for the foundation of the institution dates back as far as the year 1826, and was set on foot by a handful of artists, with the then youthful and energetic, and now venerable, Morse at their head. For years it struggled on courageously, with many powerful enemies and but little assistance. During the first twenty years of its existence it had no permanent home, but held its exhibitions and schools in hired rooms, subject to the will of capricious landlords and the toil of ascending long flights of stairs. Then a serious effort was made to procure a permanent abiding place; but the six or eight thousand dollars, then the extent of the Academy's possessions, proved altogether inadequate.

In 1849, by the generous zeal of Messrs. Sturges and Leupp, amateur members, who liberally advanced a large amount, aided by other subscribers, and by the practical skill of Messrs. Edmonds, Durand and Cummings, who acted with them as trustees on the part of the Academy, the latter was enabled to purchase ground and build spacious galleries on Mercer street, with an entrance on Broadway, opposite Bond street. There, for several years, the schools and exhibitions were held with much success. There were, however, serious drawbacks, for the entrance on Broadway was only leased ground, the debt on the building was so heavy that the Academy was in constant dread of sinking under it, and it became advisable, if not necessary, to sell. After repeated attempts a sale was at last effected.

From that time till now—a period of more than ten years—the Academy has been driven from garret to cellar, the fine collection of casts subject to injury by removal, or stowed away beyond the reach of students, and the great objects of the institution languished for the want of proper accommodations. Those dark days are past.

The net results of the sale, amounting to some fifty thousand dollars, were applied by the trustees to the purchase of the ground on which the present building stands. But they had not the means to go further. By the favor of God, however, on the efforts of the artists, bounteously seconded by the subscribers for fellowships, the money was soon furnished, and the result is this beautiful structure.

After a few appropriate congratulations to his fellow artists, on the present auspicious prospects of the Academy, followed by a stirring appeal to them to fulfil the new obligations to art which now devolve upon them, the President paid a fitting tribute to Bryant, the firm friend of the institution during its darkest hours, and concluded by introducing the venerable poet to the audience.

The latter then delivered a very chaste and beautiful address, which we regret we have not space to republish in full. Some of his reminiscences of the past were especially interesting. Said he:

"Yet, while we look back to the state of art in this country at the time when the Academy was founded, let us not deem lightly of the merit of its founders. That was by no means a low state of art which produced such men. Of those who have since passed to another life, Cole was then in the early dawn of his fame; Inman was painting those graceful portraits which we yet behold with admiration; and Ingham, those elaborate female forms and faces, which, now that time has ripened and mellowed his tints, and softened and shadowed what was hard in his finish, remain our prized memorials of the beauty of a generation then in its prime. Of Cole, I vividly remember the interest with which his works of that time were regarded. It was like the interest awakened by some great discovery. Here, we said, is a young man who does not paint nature at second hand, or with any apparent remembrance of the copies of her made by others. Here is the physiognomy of our own woods and fields; here are the tinges of our own atmosphere; here is American nature and the feeling it awakens. You have only to look at his pictures to see that they represent the features of no region but that in which we dwell.

"Inman was a rapid painter, but Ingham was an artist of a different school. He finished his portraits with infinite diligence, and frequent and careful corrections. In personal character he was a man of instant and almost impetuous decision, but in painting he reached the beauty at which he aimed by gradual and cautious approaches, slowly shaping his first shadowy and indefinite forms to symmetry and expression. Some of the pictures of Inman, painted in his rapid manner, are already blackened by time; those of Ingham, I think, will be more prized a few years hence than in his life-time. One of his most beautiful was painted just before his death—a female head, with a fine spiritual expression, as if the bright eyes were looking directly into Heaven.

"Let me not, however, neglect to speak of Dunlap, the oldest member of the Academy at the time when it was founded, and the historian of the arts of design in our country. We cannot call him eminent, either as a writer or as an artist, but he did much by his large historical paintings, executed with so little professional knowledge and exhibited by his pupils all over the country, to give our people an idea of what a picture ought to be, and to awaken in them a taste for art. Very much younger than this amiable man was Frederick Agate, carried off in the midst of his early promise by a consumption, contracted in the zealous pursuit of his studies. I remember him as more interesting than entertaining, serious, somewhat reserved, slow of speech, choosing for his pencil such melancholy subjects as 'The Dead Mother and her Child,' cast by the waves on a sea beach, and 'Ugolino,' whose story is so pathetically told by Dante, perishing, with his children, of hunger in the Tower of Famine. 'I like such subjects,' he once said to me. Perhaps some dim presentiment of his own early departure already darkened his imagination with its shadow.

"At present, I believe that only three out of the twenty-five artists who founded the Academy are living—Morse, its first president, to whom the cause of art, in this country, owes a large debt; Durand, his successor, then an engraver, whose landscapes, full of sunshine and peace, are reflections of the kindly serenity of his own nature; and Cummings, the treasurer of this institution from the beginning, who has turned from the production of his beautiful miniatures to the task of teaching the art he practised so long and well, and who has just laid before us a welcome gift—the history of the Academy for the forty years which now close. Late may the hour arrive which gathers these honored survivors to their former associates."

After discussing briefly the past and present successes of American art, he alluded to the peculiar fitness of this country and climate for art-study and development. He said:

"The phrenological philosopher, Combe, used to call ours a stimulating climate, and he was right, in so far as it tends to generate that poetic exhilaration to which the creations of art owe their birth. An English painter who had lived many years in this country, and who had just returned to it after a long visit to his native land, said to me: 'I had hardly been in Boston twenty-four hours, after landing on the American shore, when I wanted to go out into the streets and shout—so greatly were my spirits raised by merely breathing your air.' Another English artist, a sculptor, said to me, on a fine October morning, when the atmosphere was full of life and spirit, the soft white clouds drifting before a pleasant wind through a deep blue sky: 'I cannot express how much I am exhilarated by your climate. I think it one of the best in the world for a young man, and one of the worst for an old man.'

"I quote only foreign authorities, for I know how easy it is, in such matters, to deceive ourselves. But I have no doubt, for my part, that, in the temperament formed by our diversified climate, the perceptive faculties are peculiarly awake and active, drinking in the sights and sounds of Nature with a deeper delight than in climates of a more uniform character, and that the power of invention is quickened by the same causes to the same activity and energy. These varying aspects of our skies, imposing alike in their splendor and their gloom, these grand alterations of our seasons, these majestic vicissitudes, passing from polar cold to tropical heat, and from tropical heat to polar cold, with the phenomena of each fierce extreme, were not given us in vain. The genius nurtured under their influences has, in the department of art, commanded the admiration of the hemisphere from which our race was transplanted to this. The works of our great painters have been seen with delighted surprise in the Old World; the masterpieces of American sculpture have divided the praise of mankind with the productions of the most eminent statuaries of modern times. Let us hope that the opening of this edifice, consecrated to art, will mark our entrance upon a new stage of progress, even higher and nobler than we have yet attained."—*Home Journal.*

## TRIBUTES TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Emphatic tributes to the memory of President Lincoln were expressed in both houses of the British Parliament on the 1st instant.

SPEECH OF EARL RUSSELL.

In the House of Lords, Earl Russell moved an address to the Queen, requesting that in any communication from the British government to the government of the United States, expressing abhorrence and regret at the great crime committed in the assassination of the President, there might be expressed at the same time the sorrow and indignation felt by the House of Lords. Earl Russell continued as follows:

"In this case I am sure your lorships will feel entire sympathy with her Majesty, who has instructed me already to express to the government of the United States the shock which she felt at the intelligence of the great crime which has been committed (hear, hear). Her Majesty has also been pleased to write a private letter to Mrs. Lincoln (cheers), expressive of sympathy with that lady in her misfortune (cheers). I think that your lordships will agree with me that in modern times there has hardly been a crime committed so abhorrent to the feelings of every civilized person as the one I am now alluding to (hear hear). After the first election of Mr. Lincoln as President of the United States, he was reelected to the same high position by the large majority of the people remaining faithful to the government of the United States, and he was in the discharge of the duties of his office, having borne his faculties meekly, at the moment when an assassin attacked him at the theatre. There are circumstances connected with this crime which, I think, aggravate its atrocity. President Lincoln was a man who, though not conspicuous before his election, had since displayed a character of so much integrity, so much sincerity and straight-forwardness, and at the same time of so much kindness, that if any one was able to alleviate the pain and animosities which prevailed during the period of civil war, I believe that Abraham Lincoln was that person."

After alluding to the public course of Mr. Lincoln, Earl Russell said:

"I think we must all feel both sympathy with the United States in this great affliction, and also a hope that he who is now, according to the American Constitution, entrusted with the power of the late President may be able both on the one subject and on the other—both in respect to mercy and lenity towards the conquered, and also with regard to the measures to be adopted for the new organization which the abolition of slavery will render requisite—to overcome all difficulties. I had some time ago, at the commencement of this contest, occasion to say that I did not believe that the great republic of America would perish in this war, and the noble lord at the head of the government had lately occasion to disclaim on the part of the government of this country any feeling of envy at the greatness and prosperity of the United States. The course which her Majesty's government have had to pursue during this civil war has been one of great anxiety. Difficulties have occurred to us, and difficulties have also occurred to the government of the United States, in maintaining the peaceful relations between the two countries; but those difficulties have always been treated with temper and moderation both on this side and the other side of the Atlantic. I trust that that temper and moderation may continue, and I can assure this House that, as we have always been guided by the wish that the American government and the American people should settle for themselves the conflict of arms without any interference of ours, so likewise during the attempt that has been made to restore peace and tranquillity to America, we shall equally refrain from any kind of interference or intervention, though we trust that the efforts to be made for restoring peace will be successful, and that the great republic of America will always flourish and enjoy the freedom it has hitherto enjoyed" (hear, hear).

EARL DERBY.

Earl Derby followed in support of Earl Russell's motion, although opposed to the unusual course proposed. He added:

"Whatever other misfortunes may have attended this atrocious crime, I hope that at least one good effect may have resulted from it—namely, that the manner in which the news has been received in this country will satisfy the people of the United States that her Majesty's subjects, one and all, deeply condemn the crime which has been committed, and deeply sympathize with the people of the United States in their feelings of horror at the assassination of their Chief Magistrate (hear, hear). For the crime itself there is no palliation whatever to be offered."

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said:

"The crime of assassination is so utterly revolting to the hearts and feelings of Englishmen that we cannot wonder at the cry of horror and indignation with which the death of President Lincoln has been received in this country throughout the breadth and length of the land. The circumstances under which that atrocious crime was perpetrated could not but heighten the abhorrence with which the act itself is to be viewed. Whether we look to the private affliction caused by its commission, or to the public consequences which may flow from the catastrophe, our compassion on the one side, and our anxiety on the other, are naturally roused to the highest degree. It is not in my province to pronounce any kind of judgment on the qualities, the conduct, or the intentions of the late President of the United States. It would be unkind and unworthy not to give him credit for the best claims on our esteem and regret. But when I figure to myself the Chief Magistrate, the temporary sovereign of a great nation, struck down by a sudden and dastardly blow in the presence of his astounded family, in the first moment of relaxation from the toils and severe anxieties of a great civil contest, and in the midst of those who gave him their admiring acclamations, every thought is lost in one overpowering sentiment of horror and disgust" (hear, hear).

The motion having been put by the Lord Chancellor, was carried unanimously.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on the same day, Sir G. Grey in behalf of Lord Palmerston, spoke at length in denunciation of the deed. He said:

"I wish it were possible for us to convey to the people of the United States an adequate idea of the depth and universality of the feeling which this sad event has occasioned in this country; that from the highest to the lowest there has been but one feeling entertained. Her Majesty's minister at Washington will, in obedience to the Queen's command, convey to the government of the United States the expression of the feelings of Her Majesty and of her government upon the deplorable event; and her Majesty, with that tender consideration which she has always evinced for sorrow and suffering in others, of whatever rank (cheers), has with her own hand written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln (loud cheers), conveying the heartfelt sympathy of a widow to a widow (renewed cheers), suffering under the calamity of having lost one suddenly cut off (cheers). From every part of this country, from every class, but one voice has been heard, one of abhorrence of the crime, and of sympathy for and interest in the country which has this great loss to mourn."

Mr. Disraeli said:

"Under any circumstances we should have bewailed the catastrophe at Washington; under any circumstances we should have shuddered at the means by which it was accomplished. But in the character of the victim, and even in the accessories of his last moments, there is someting so homely and innocent that it takes the question, as it were, out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy—it touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind (cheers). Whatever the various and varying opinions in this House, and in the country generally, on the policy of the late President of the United States, all must agree that in one of the severest trials which ever tested the moral qualities of man, he fulfilled his duty with simplicity and strength" (cheers).

MEETING OF AMERICANS IN LONDON.

The Americans in London held a large meeting on the 11th inst., at the call of Mr. Adams, our Minister, who presided and made a feeling address. Of Mr. Lincoln he spoke as follows:

"It was one of the peculiar merits of Mr. Lincoln that he knew how to give shape in action to the popular feelings as they developed themselves under his observation. He never sought to lead, but rather to follow, and thus he succeeded in the difficult task of successfully combining conservatism with progress. This surely was not like tyranny (hear, hear). His labor was always to improve. Hence it was that he conducted a war of unexampled magnitude, always bearing in mind the primary purpose for which it had been commenced, at the same time that he had associated with it broader ones as the opportunity came (hear, hear). He had pledged himself at the outset to accomplish certain objects, and he never forgot that pledge. The time had at last arrived when he might honestly claim that it would be fulfilled. It was in that very moment he was taken away. On the very same day of the year when the national flag, which just four years before had been lowered to triumphant enemies at Fort Sumter, was once more lifted to its original position by the hand of the same officer who had suffered the indignity that commenced the war, Abraham Lincoln fell (hear, hear). His euthanasia is complete. For him we ought not to mourn. His work was done; he had fought the good fight; he has finished his course. The grief is all for ourselves alone (hear, hear). And now we who stand around his body may well cry, "Go up, go up, with your gory temples twined with the evergreen symbols of a patriot's wreath, and bearing the double glory of a martyr's crown (hear, hear). Go up, whilst for us here remaining on earth your memory shall be garnered in the hearts of us and our latest posterity, in common with the priceless treasures heaped up by the great fathers of the republic, and close by that of the matchless Washington."

Mr. Morse, American Consul at London, moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

"That we have heard with the greatest indignation and the most profound sorrow of the assassination which has deprived our country of its beloved Chief-Magistrate, as well as of the murderous assault which has greatly perilled the lives of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State; and that we regard the taking of the life of our chief executive officer, while our country is passing through unparalleled trials, after all loyal Americans had learned to love him, and all good men the world over to confide in him, and when so much of national and individual welfare and happiness depended on his existence, as the great crime of the nineteenth century, memorable in its atrocity and entailing on its perpetrators the execrations of mankind."

Mr. H. Bergh, of New York, offered the following resolution:

"That we tender to Mrs. Lincoln our heartfelt sympathy and expressions of condolence in the great affliction that she and her family and the nation have sustained."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. E. S. Morgan, of the firm of Peabody & Co., and carried unanimously.

Dr. R. J. Black, of Kentucky, moved:

"That in the long public career of Andrew Johnson, now President of the United States, the early and pre-eminent sacrifices he made from his devotion to the cause of the Union, and his pledges to maintain the great principles of human liberty, we have every assurance that he will faithfully prosecute to its final success the wise, humane and statesmanlike domestic and foreign policy of President Lincoln."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. H. T. Parker, and carried.

Mr. Russell Sturgis (partner in the house of Barings Brothers, and, as he said, an American citizen and a British merchant), moved the next resolution:

"That as loyal citizens we have witnessed with peculiar pleasure the expressions of indignation and sorrow throughout Great Britain at the assassination of President Lincoln, and the cordial and hearty sympathy which has been extended by the people of this realm to the government and people of the United States in this great bereavement and public calamity."

Mr. E. M. Fisher seconded the resolution, observing that this was an occasion in which all true-hearted Americans should forget all animosities, and unite in thanking the great mother country—England—for the unanimous sentiment of sympathy she had so spontaneously and so generously expressed.

This resolution, like the others, was unanimously adopted, and on motion of the Chairman, it was resolved:

"That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States and to Mrs. Lincoln."

Mr. C. W. Field said he had not intended to say anything, but merely to mingle his tears with theirs over the grave of a great and good man. It was not two months since he left America, and shortly before that time he saw Mr. Lincoln, and he knew how well that good man desired peace at home and with all countries. He ardently wished that with the sad death of President Lincoln all differences of opinion between England and America would now be settled and buried with him.—*Lon. Spectator, May 6.*

## GEORGE BANCROFT ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The position of Abraham Lincoln, on the day of his inauguration, was apparently one of helpless debility. A bark canoe in a tempest on mid-ocean seemed hardly less safe. The vital tradition of the country on slavery no longer had its adequate expression in either of the two great political parties, and the Supreme Court had uprooted the old landmarks and guides. The men who had chosen him President did not constitute a consolidated party, and did not profess to represent either of the historic parties which had been engaged in the struggles of three quarters of a century. They were a heterogeneous body of men, of the most various political attachments in former years, and on many questions of economy of the most discordant opinions. Scarcely knowing each other, they did not form a numerical majority of the whole country, were in a minority in each branch of Congress except from the wilful absence of members, and they could not be sure of their own continuance as an organized body. They did not know their own position, and were startled by the consequences of their success. The new President himself was, according to his own description, a man of defective education, a lawyer by profession, knowing nothing of administration beyond having been master of a very small post-office, knowing nothing of war but as a captain of volunteers in a raid against an Indian chief, repeatedly a member of the Illinois Legislature, once a member of Congress. He spoke with ease and clearness, but not with eloquence. He wrote concisely and to the point, but was unskilled in the use of the pen. He had no accurate knowledge of the public defences of the country, no exact conception of its foreign relations, no comprehensive perception of his duties. The qualities of his nature were not suited to hardy action. His temper was soft and gentle and yielding; reluctant to refuse anything that presented itself to him as an act of kindness; loving to please and willing to confide; not trained to confine acts of good-will within the stern limits of duty. He was of the temperament called melancholic, scarcely concealed by an exterior of lightness of humor—having a deep and fixed seriousness, jesting lips, and wanness of heart. And this man was summoned to stand up directly against a power with which Henry Clay had never directly grappled, before which Webster at last had quailed, which no President had offended and yet successfully administered the government, to which each great political party had made concessions, to which in various measures of compromise the country had repeatedly capitulated, and with which he must now venture a struggle for the life or death of the nation.

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In some respects Abraham Lincoln was peculiarly fitted for his task, in connection with the movement of his countrymen. He was of the North-west; and this time it was the Mississippi river, the needed outlet for the wealth of the Northwest, that did its part in asserting the necessity of Union. He was one of the mass of the people; he represented them, because he was of them; and the mass of the people, the class that lives and thrives by self-imposed labor, felt that the work which was to be done was a work of their own: the assertion of equality against the pride of oligarchy; of free labor against the lordship over slaves; of the great industrial people against all the expiring aristocracies of which any remnants had tided down from the Middle Age. He was of a religious turn of mind, without superstition; and the unbroken faith of the mass was like his own. As he went along through his difficult journey, sounding his way, he held fast by the hand of the people, and "tracked its footsteps with even feet." "His pulse's beat twinned with their pulses." He committed faults; but the people were resolutely generous, magnanimous, and forgiving; and he in his turn was willing to take instructions from their wisdom.

The measure by which Abraham Lincoln takes his place, not in American history only, but in universal history, is his Proclamation of January 1, 1863, emancipating all slaves within the insurgent States. It was, indeed, a military necessity, and it decided the result of the war. It took from the public enemy one or two millions of bondmen, and placed between one and two hundred thousand brave and gallant troops in arms on the side of the Union. A great deal has been said in time past of the wonderful results of the toil of the enslaved negro in the creation of wealth by the culture of cotton; and now it is in part to the aid of the negro in freedom that the country owes its success in its movement of regeneration—that the world of mankind owes the continuance of the United States as the example of a Republic. The death of President Lincoln sets the seal to that Proclamation, which must be maintained. It cannot but be maintained. It is the only rod that can safely carry off the thunderbolt. He came to it perhaps reluctantly; he was brought to adopt it, as it were, against his will, but compelled by inevitable necessity He disclaimed all praise for the act, saying reverently, after it had succeeded, "The nation's condition God alone can claim."

And what a futurity is opened before the country when its institutions become homogeneous! From all the civilized world the nations will send hosts to share the wealth and glory of this people. It will receive all good ideas from abroad; and its great principles of personal equality and freedom—freedom of conscience and mind—freedom of speech and action—freedom of government through ever-renewed common consent, will undulate through the world like the rays of light and heat from the sun. With one wing touching the waters of the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific, it will grow into a greatness of which the past has no parallel; and there can be no spot in Europe or in Asia so remote or so secluded as to shut out its influence. —*Atlantic Monthly.*

## RICHARD COBDEN.

DIED APRIL 2, 1865.

Solemn and sad his task who, from the shore,
Watches Time's slow but surely-rising wave,
As landmark after landmark it sweeps o'er,
And whelms great things and men in one wide grave.

So the pale sentinel on Neva's pier
Records the wasting water's sullen swell,
Till all the pile-based city shakes for fear
Of some huge fall—church, palace, citadel.

I am not old who watch, but from my post
What kindly strengths have I seen vail their crown,
What stateliness bowed, what pride and boast
By those dark waters toppled, sudden, down!

One more high tower has fallen, that stood four-square,
Simple, and scant of ornament, but strong,
As fits a fortalice, whose walls must bear,
Sheltering Right, the rude assaults of Wrong.

He had done work to fill a longer life,
And lived to see his life's work rounded clean;
Seldom has sun that lit a morn of strife
Set in the hush of evening so serene.

The man whose young strength struck the shackles off
From England's toiling arm and trading hand,
Lived to knit close—in spite of sneer and scoff—
England and France in Traffic's triple strand.

Poor in world's wealth, but rich in stainless fame,
Untitled, yet a magnate in the land,
That honor blazons Richard Cobden's name,
Which life well-lived and work well-done command.

Circumstance shaped his lot, and it shapes all:
The path it oped seemed narrow, hard, and bare;
No grace of letters made a flowery wall
To mask its bounds, nor arts, nor arms passed there—

The path of trade, that leads—who shall say where?—
To humble competence, and low content,
To wealth and wisdom, or to wealth and care,
To means hard-saved, to be as loosely spent;

But rarely to a higher goal than pelf;
And few on *that* road ope a wider eye
Than grasps the vision on the trader's self,
Or second self—kith, kin, and progeny.

But on that path this man advancing, felt
The impulse of a great good far away:
Looked up, saw angels, and where others knelt
To grope for gold, he knelt to dream and pray.

Yes—knelt to *dream:* though bred to trade and toil,
His was the dreamer's rapt and prescient eye:
Thence came the wings that lifted him from soil
Of sordid paths, and raised low aims to high.

He saw Heaven's will by man's contrivance barred:
Nature's kind pathway betwixt need and need
Gated and fenced; the Almighty purpose marred,
That gave us diverse brains, thews, soils, and seeds.

Others ere him, had seen and proved the wrong,
But he the wrong determined to set right:
Weak in all else, in single purpose strong,
With Wealth, Power, Prejudice, he braved the fight

And won it, and was famous, powerful, great:
But with the triumph laid the truncheon by,
And in the ranks was proud to serve the State,
Poor save in that which riches cannot buy.

Loving, beloved, light of a happy hearth,
Life's common sun and shadow shared his day;
But with a nation's grief he fades from earth,
And no cloud darkens o'er him, passed away!

—*Punch.*

## A NEW MINISTER IN BOSTON.

At the Melodeon, on Sunday morning last, was held a service of installation, making manifest to the public the acceptance, by Rev. David A. Wasson, of the invitation given him by the 28th Congregational Society of Boston to become its minister. This service was conducted in the simplest manner, according to the Congregational idea, which is that the Society has the right to settle and install its own minister, without asking either license or assistance from other churches or their clergy. On this occasion the Standing Committee chose as their spokesman Wendell Phillips, gladly intrusting this office to one who has been, from the beginning, a steadfast friend of the Society, who was often associated in works of practical Christianity with its former minister, Theodore Parker, and who, during Mr. Parker's sickness and since his death, has often most acceptably occupied its pulpit.

Mr. Phillips read to the Congregation the letter inviting Mr. Wasson to take this office, and his reply, accepting it. He then requested, first the Society, and then the newly elected minister, to make manifest by rising their assent to this engagement. This having been done, and the public ratification of the contract thereby completed, Mr. Phillips made a brief but impressive address to the Society, of which a phonographic report was taken by Mr. Yerrinton, as follows:

"It remains only that in your name I should welcome our dear friend to this desk, which represents, in our view, the bravest and boldest element of New England life. I love to trace its spirit back to the most earnest epoch of our country's existence. It seems to me that all eras are brothers, and that all great moral and religious emergencies call out the same qualities in men. This pulpit is but the reproduction of that earnestness of religious faith, that breadth of religious life, which planted New England. I think the key-note of our religious idea is found in the pathetic farewell which Robinson addressed, at Leyden, to the departing Pilgrims. He said—'I charge you, follow me no further than you see me follow Christ. God hath yet much truth to break forth from his holy Word. I bewail much the condition of the churches which have made a period in their religion, and will not go beyond the instrument by which they were reformed. Luther and Calvin were shining lights in their day, but they did not exhaust the whole counsel of God. I charge you, it is your church covenant, that you keep your minds open to whatever shall be made known to you from the written Word of God." It was in that spirit of entire personal independence, with face set forward and not backward, and drawing its inspiration from the future and the present, not from the past, that our country was founded. And one of the first principles which the Pilgrims manifested was that every soul was equally near to God; that no laying on of human hands, no cunning ceremony, could make one man fitter than another for any religious service. There was no Priesthood; there was no calling of an individual to lord it over God's heritage; but, 'all ye are brothers'; and when they looked to one brother above the rest for counsel, they themselves summoned him to their side.

Again: they had the clearest instinctive perception that there never could be a true union of independent, thinking men in a creed. The early churches of our country had no creeds. Their unity was not that of intellectual ideas, but of religious purpose; the unity of a life which, in its earnestness, single-eyed devotion, contented submission to bearing each other's burdens, aspiration to lift Nature to its loftiest point, welcomed all difference of intellectual view into the same brotherhood. I do not say that they exhausted their theory—but they *believed* it; they groped their way in pure faith toward it, and they acknowledged its sufficiency. The chill of unbelief, the corruption of subsequent generations, built up round each religious organization a wall behind which indolent and timid souls sought to shelter themselves from the hard task of thinking out their own creed. This desk was an effort to go back to the old root of New England faith; and Theodore Parker, when he occupied it, represented the advance guard of New England thought and purpose. I differed from him in almost every point of religious conviction; I found myself drawn close into the most intimate brotherhood with him on every act of religious life. Wherever a work was to be done, wherever a great quality was to be unfolded, wherever a true Christian life was to be built up or manifested, I found no other church so near to my own ideal as this, which one holding the most antagonistic convictions had erected close at my side. I think the same magnetic and Christian attraction has summoned many a one into our circle, whose brain retained its own shape. But he was not merely an intellect. The passer-by on the other side thought him only an iconoclast—a destroyer—a breaker of images. He was a destroyer, as Fulton was a destroyer, when he replaced the slow barge by the steamboat; he was a destroyer as Luther was a destroyer, when he replaced the darkness and coldness and narrowness of the Middle Ages with the light, and the warmth, and the breadth of modern Christianity; he was a destroyer, as Michael Angelo was a destroyer, when his chisel hewed off the unsightly corners and clumsiness of the block of marble, and revealed the Christ which lay below; —but in no other sense was he a destroyer. In every other sense he was a builder, and the scenes of the last four years show how wisely and how deeply he built. No nation was ever summoned to so severe a trial; but when everything seemed gone to wreck, when there was no precedent on the file, when the ruts were all rubbed out, the Nation, with the tenacity of a Christian purpose, linked itself to the justice of the Throne of God, and survived the storm. Amid the awful crisis of that danger and confusion, it lifted itself up to the exhibition of a Christian humanity that would soften the horrors and alleviate the inevitable sufferings of war, such as no epoch has ever exhibited hitherto. I do not say that this pulpit was the single agent, but I say that it stood chiefest among the agencies which made this proud, sublime, merciful, just, Christian Nationality possible. It is the best proof how wisely this class of seeming image-breakers have been really building the church of the living God.

Look also at the last four years in the status of woman—throwing the purity, the humanity, the tenderness of her nature into every channel of public life—and say if the agencies, this chiefest among them, which have broken down the wall of partition, and summoned woman to a broader sphere, have not been building as well as breaking down. And how religiously this one has builded! There was no vexed soul, struggling alone with spiritual problems on the other side of the globe, that did not hear his name who stood here, and feel the strength of a brother's sympathy. There was no class low down in the moral and spiritual nature which did not feel they had his strong hand underneath them. His friend were not merely the great intellects, but they were the broad, warm hearts, the world over. True, his piety did not grow robust in the gymnastics of the closet, but it did in the active labors of the street.

We welcome you to his desk, my brother; not to be trammelled by his example, but we felt, very naturally, that his mantle fell on your shoulders; that you were eminently fit to continue the work which he set us to do. We will hold up your hands. Teach us to be good men and women, Christian men and women; faithful in public and private, as husbands and wives, as parents and children, as private men and as citizens. Embolden us to speak the truth everywhere, telling the world what we know. Lift us to our noblest duties; bind us to our gravest sacrifices. Make us practical in all the service which the world needs. And when God summons you or us to another sphere, or to other labors, may we feel that while we were together in this brotherhood, our best natures were cultivated, our strongest services were rendered; that we were lifted into a Christian life preeminently, and in our degree were co-workers with God in all that he formed us to do."

Mr. Wasson then proceeded with the usual services of Sunday morning. One of the hymns which he chose was the one commencing "Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee," which had been a special favorite with Mr. Parker. The discourse which followed might properly be entitled, he said, The Radical Creed. It was intended to express the great points of belief common to himself and the Society, and the practical purposes for which they had assembled themselves together. He had found the subject too